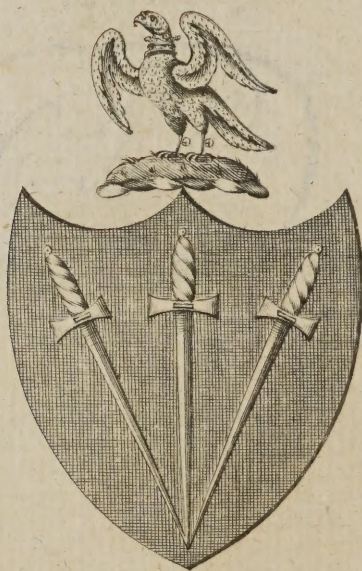


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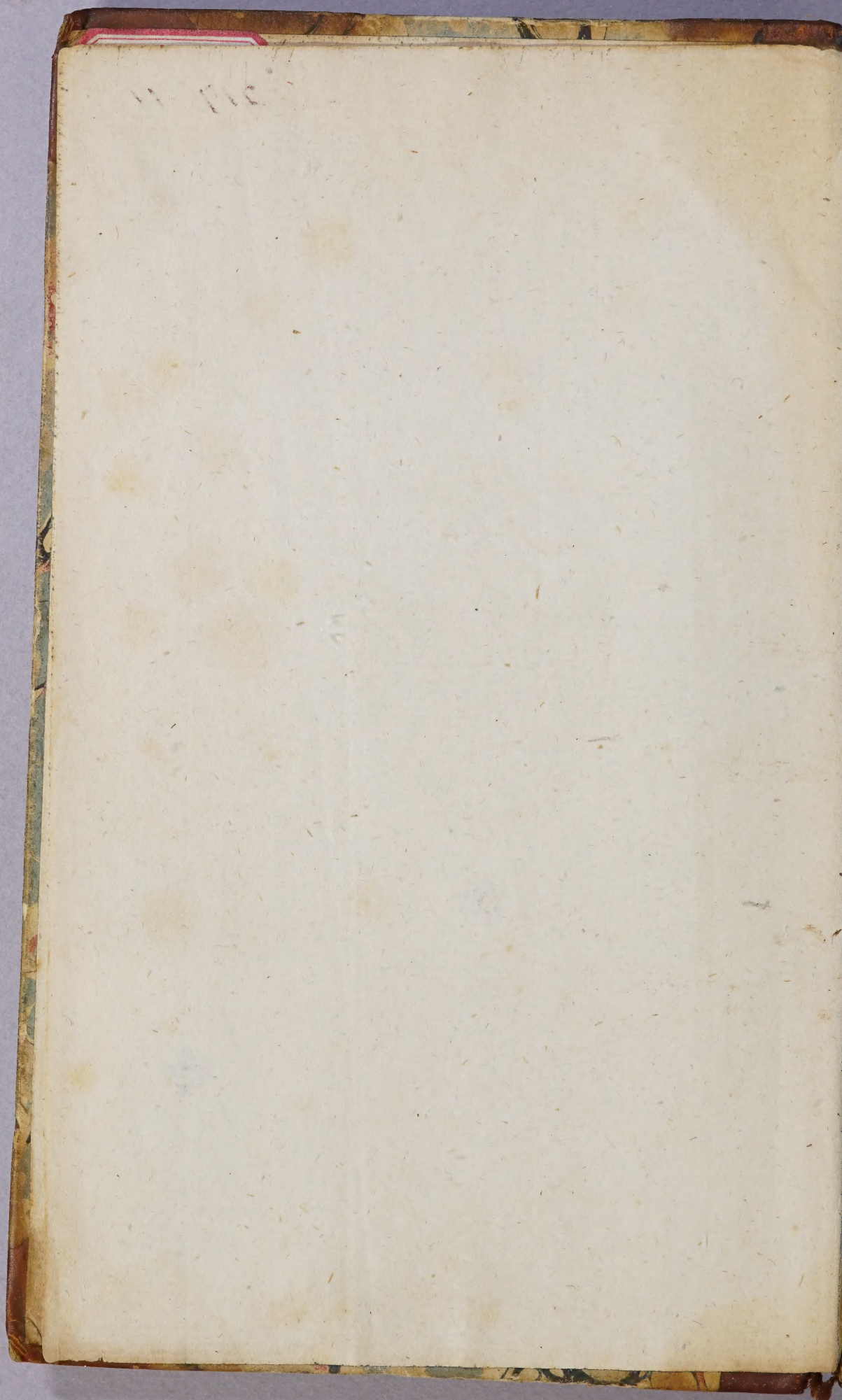


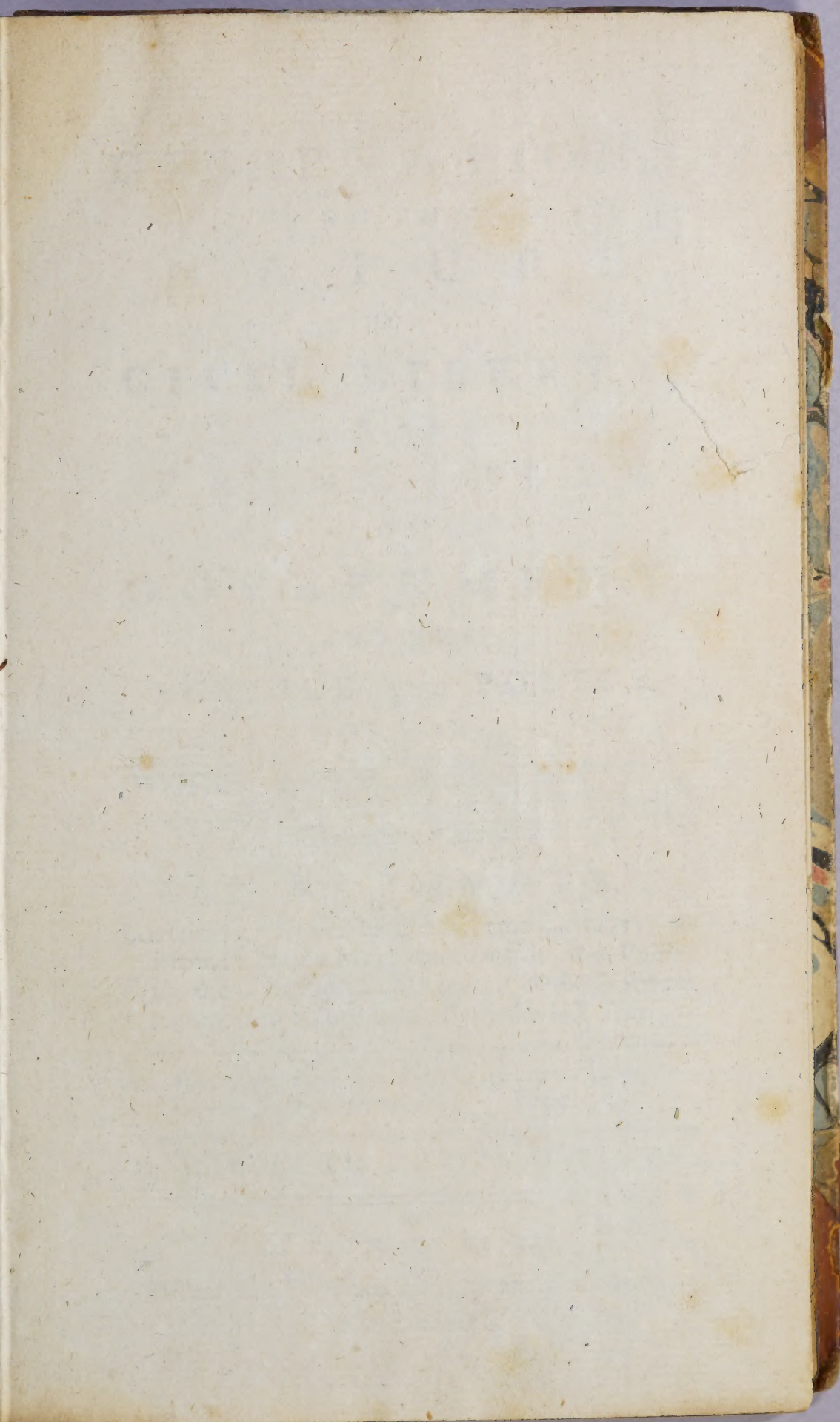
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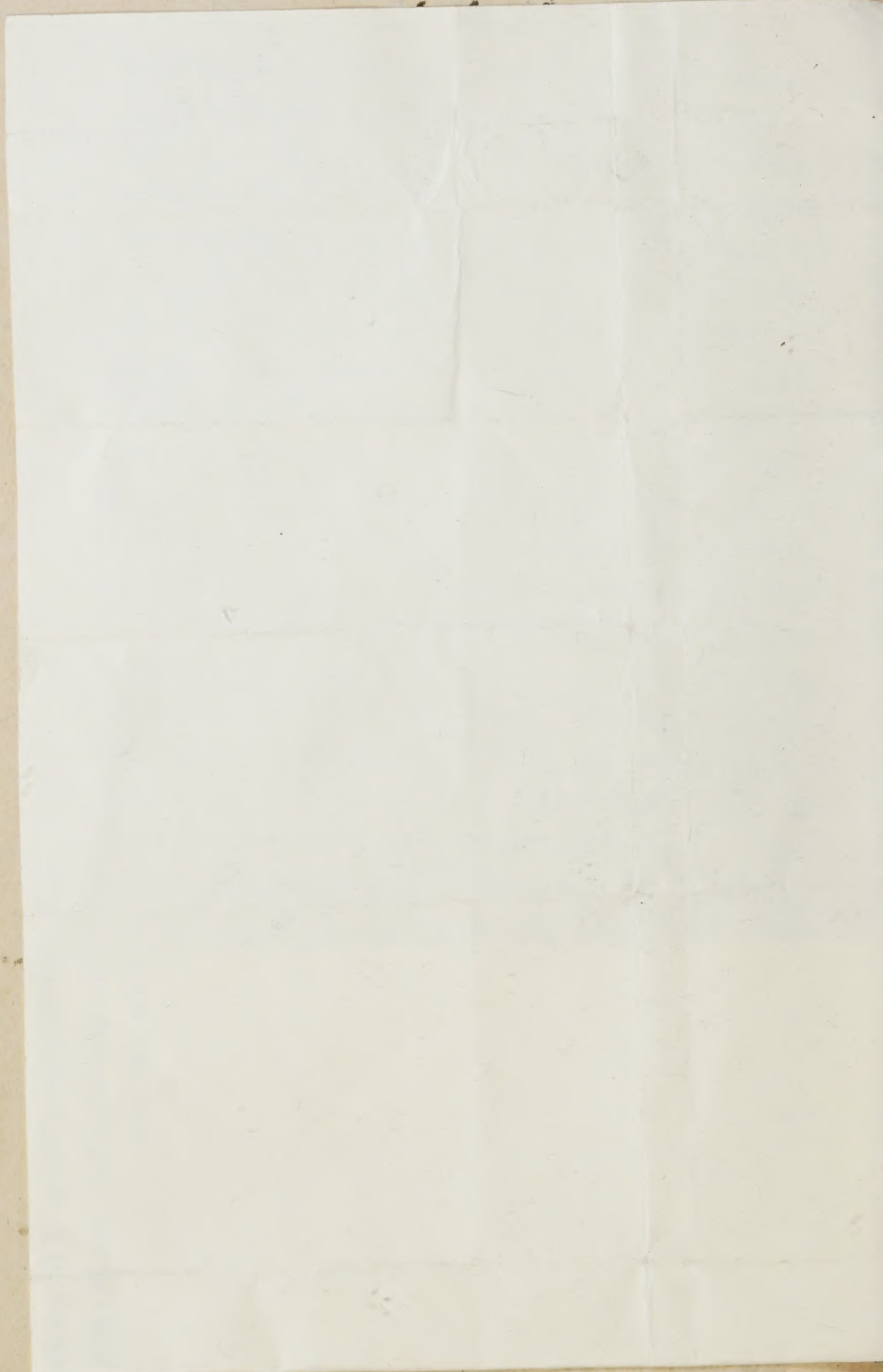


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I was willing to examine, a little, his father's principles;
that I approved them, I might adopt them.

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HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS

ON THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
AMERICAN REBELLION.

IN WHICH

The Causes of that Rebellion are pointed out, and the Policy and Necessity of offering to the AMERICANS a System of Government founded in the Principles of the British Constitution, are clearly demonstrated.

BY

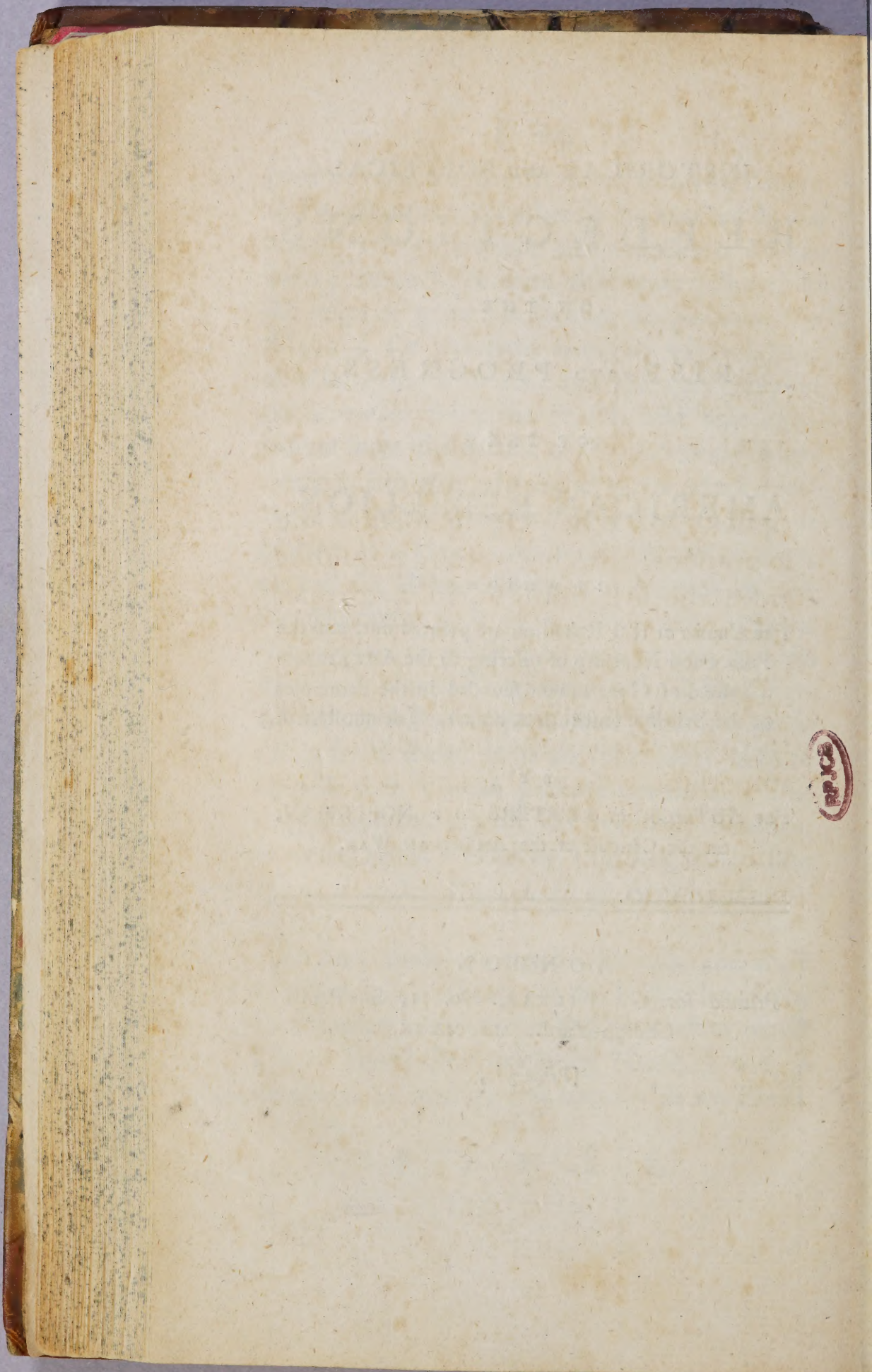
The AUTHOR of LETTERS to a NOBLEMAN,
on the Conduct of the AMERICAN WAR.

James Halloran

LONDON:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Pamphlet was written in great Haste, amidst a multiplicity of other engagements and avocations. It has been published from the first draught, in a manner uncorrected. As the Author found the *American Question* coming forward in Parliament, he thought it his duty to throw what light he could on so important a Subject; and he relies on the candour of the Reader to excuse the literary defects of so hasty a performance.

ADVERTISMENT

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C O N T E N T S.

THE Rebellion of the Colonies without any reasonable foundation, p. 2.

The parental tenderness of the Mother Country towards them from their first settlement, and particularly in the last war, p. 4—7.

The ground and policy of the Stamp Act, p. 7.

The ill consequences of repealing it, p. 12.

The absurd remedy which was proposed, p. 14.

The reasons for passing the Tea Act, and its beneficial tendency, p. 16.

The Act relative to the Port of Boston, p. 18.

The Act for altering the Charter of Massachusetts, p. 19.

The original defects of that Charter, and the illegal powers granted by it, ibid.

The alteration of it no just ground for complaint, p. 21.

The source of the Rebellion founded in the principles and dispositions of the first settlers of New England—with a sketch of their history, p. 24—28.

Farther observations on the Massachusetts Charter, p. 28.

The republican views and projects of the New England settlers, p. 32.

The Second Charter granted by King William, though somewhat improved, still very exceptionable, p. 38.

The ill uses made of it by the Representatives of the People, p. 40.

C O N T E N T S.

The Charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island equally defective, and productive of similar mischief, p. 42.

The spirit of Republicanism and Independency, which had been awed by the neighbourhood of the French, greatly encouraged by the cession of Canada to Great Britain, p. 47.

The Congregationalists of New England, though restrained from holding synods, yet find ways of acting as an ecclesiastical body, ibid.

The Presbyterians throughout the Colonies form a political union, p. 48.

The Copy of their Circular Letter issued from Philadelphia, with their Plan or Articles, p. 49.

They unite also with the Congregationalists, p. 54; and are the principal opposers of the authority of Parliament, p. 55.

These two confederated sects gain strength and spirit by the repeal of the Stamp Act, p. 56.

They are joined by the Smugglers in opposing the Act for laying Duties, &c. p. 57.

Their connection with the disappointed and factious in England, p. 60.

The Provincial Assemblies in general averse to all violent proceedings, p. 61.

Opposition to Parliamentary Authority encouraged by Letters from hence, and particularly by a certain Member of P———t, p. 63.

To prevent the evils that were dreaded, a Congress was proposed, to consist of Committees from the several Houses of Assembly; but several of the King's Governors not approving of the measure, nor giving their Assemblies an opportunity to meet, delegates were sent to the Congress by factious town-meetings and committees, p. 64.

The

C O N T E N T S.

The meeting of the Congress—They are divided in sentiments—The state and character of the two parties—And the influence of Samuel Adams, p. 65—68.

Warm debate on the Suffolk Resolves, p. 69.

The speech of a loyal Member against adopting them, p. 70.

The Plan recommended by him, p. 81.

A retrospect of the subject, p. 82.

General Conway's letter to the Governor of Massachusetts, p. 85.

Remarks on the conduct of Opposition, p. 86—and of the faction in America, p. 87.

The very different behaviour of the Loyalists, p. 94.

The meeting of the second Congress, p. 95.

The reception they gave to the Conciliatory Resolution of the House of Commons, p. 96.

Their preparations for war, p. 99.

They petition the King. Remarks on the Petition, p. 100.

To defeat the benevolent design of Commissioners appointed by Great Britain, they hasten the declaration of Independency, p. 107.

They copy the rebellion of 1641, p. 110.

General observations on the foregoing account, p. 112.

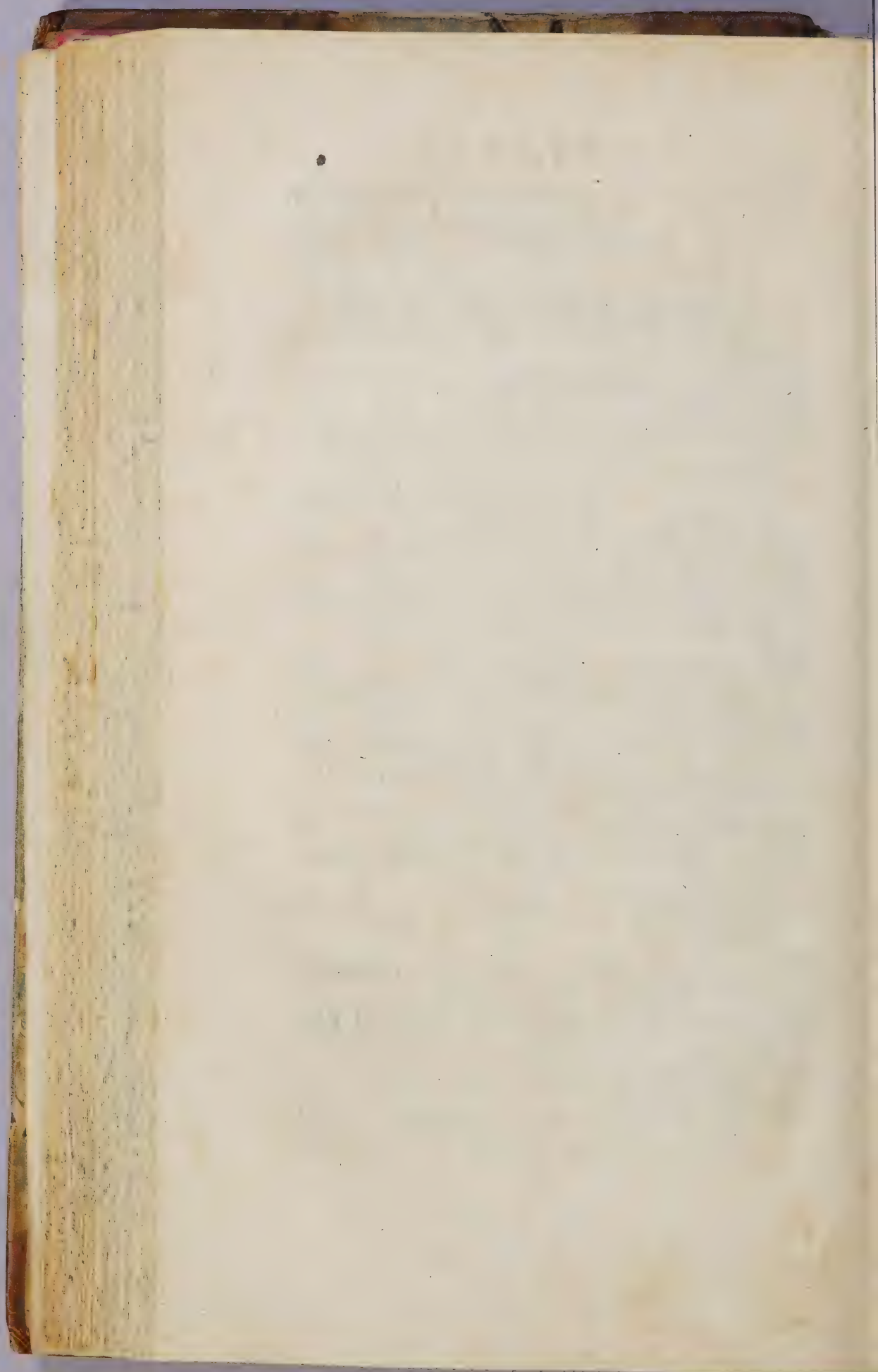
*The practicability of preserving the dependance of Colonies, *ibid.**

Hints for the regulation and future government of our American Colonies, p. 117.

The example of the Romans in the Social War, p. 127.

The Conclusion, p. 131.

Appendix, p. 133.



HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL
REFLECTIONS
ON THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
AMERICAN REBELLION.

THE politic, like the natural body, is liable to disorders, which often terminate in death. To know the cause of the disease in either system, is equally necessary to a radical cure. This knowledge unattained, the political or physical quack will administer his remedies in vain. He may, and indeed often will, throw his patient into agonies and convulsions, and accelerate its death; or by ineffectual remedies give temporary relief, leaving the disorder to break out again with more dangerous symptoms, but cannot expect to give permanent relief.

The American rebellion is an event which has struck deep into the health of the British state, enfeebled its powers, and, if it has not already produced, it promises fair to bring on convulsions,

sions, the consequences of which are not within the reach of human foresight. From these truths we may venture to conclude, that it will be of some importance to those who superintend the welfare of the British society, to be truly informed of the origin of that rebellion; and to be able to trace its progress from the original spark up to its present flame, which has extended so wide as to threaten the empire with dissolution. It is from this knowledge, that a part of the means may be drawn for its immediate suppression; and from this alone can that system of future polity be formed, which can effect a permanent union between the two countries, and prevent another rebellion from breaking out hereafter with redoubled force and certain success.

There are men of respectable abilities, and in high stations, who have industriously promoted an opinion, that this unfortunate "and
" portentous event has been produced by the in-
" justice and oppression of the present reign,—
" by a plan formed by Administration for enslav-
" ing the Colonies." This has been the uniform language of the malcontents on both sides of the Atlantic. The Congress has assumed it in order to justify their rebellion; and the opposition to Government in Britain has echoed it, some of them to conceal their thirst for the emoluments and dignities of office, the sole ground of their opposition; and others, republican in principle, and co-operating in the rebellion, to cover their as yet latent and immature design of destroying our present happy constitution. It has been asserted so often and so confidently,

dently, *in* as well as *out* of Parliament, that the incautious, who seldom examine the motives of human conduct, have believed it, when less credulity and more enquiry would have unveiled its fallacy.

To prove that this opinion is not founded in truth—that neither the conduct of this or any past reign since the accession of the present Royal Family has produced the rebellion in America, but that it has sprung from very different causes, existing so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, and been nourished and fed by those two fiends, Superstition and Ambition, the great enemies to religious and civil liberty—is the design of this Essay. But before I proceed to support this opinion, I shall endeavour to shew the absurdity and futility of that which I mean to oppose. It will dispel the mist which has been cast before the eyes of the misinformed, and enable the candid to perceive the truth in its due force when laid before them.

In almost every society, opposition to legal government has been a common event. In almost every instance which history affords, it has arisen from a continued series of extreme injustice and oppression in the rulers. These have been the *means*, by which ambitious men, of whom every society has its share, have been enabled to incite the vulgar and ignorant to sedition, and finally to throw off their allegiance. But the American rebellion in this respect stands distinguished from all others. It can appeal neither to antecedent injustice nor oppression for an excuse. At the time it broke out, the people

in the Colonies were more free, unincumbered and happy than any others on earth. A summary view of the conduct of the State towards the Colonies, from the dawn of their settlements to their present maturity, will support these facts. It will incontestably prove, that they have received every encouragement which consisted with their own particular interest, and which was not adverse to the general welfare of the society.

Before, as well as since, the accession of his present Majesty, the annals of this kingdom will shew that the Colonies have been nourished in their infancy, and supported in their more adult age, with all the attention of a most affectionate parent. If through their own folly they have, in their infant state, quarrelled with their neighbours, their enemies have been considered as the enemies of Britain. If their trade has been injured, or their territory invaded, Britain has not failed to resent the injury. It by repeated acts of fraud and injustice done to their innocent and inoffensive neighbours, they have incurred their hatred and resentment, Britain has stepped in, and by annual donations repaired the injuries, and effected a reconciliation. If the produce of their soil was necessary to promote the interest or safety of the community at large, in which their own was of course included, generous bounties, to which they did not contribute, were given, as an encouragement to their industry, out of the pockets of their British fellow-subjects. If French ambition and Popish superstition have threatened to *annihilate* their
civil

civil and religious liberty, the treasure and blood of Britons have been devoted to their preservation.

In the two last wars, when the powers of France and Spain threatened the destruction of their commerce, and the conquest of their country, Great-Britain, regardless of the expenditure of millions, and the loss of many thousands of her subjects, by her fleets and armies saved them from ruin, leaving them to contribute what proportion of aids *they pleased*, towards securing their own safety. And to close the scene of ineffable benefits bestowed on these ungrateful people, at the conclusion of the last war, Great-Britain, unsuspecting of their ambitious and treacherous designs, and inattentive to her own future security, gave them, by the retention of Canada, absolute safety against every enemy, save their own ambition, and republican principles. Such were the benefits bestowed by the State, before the end of the year 1763, without an alloy of one act of intentional injustice or oppression, or a single injury done and complained of, which remained unredressed. Surely no candid and rational mind can look for the cause of rebellion in a conduct so truly benevolent.

It is needless to say more in vindication of the conduct of the State antecedent to the time I have mentioned. The Congress themselves confess, that the Colonies have no grievances to complain of before that period. They declare, "that if Government will place them in the situation they were in before the year 1763, their complaints will subside." Nothing therefore

fore can remain, but to examine whether any acts of injustice or oppression have been done by the State since that time, that could give rise to so open and avowed a rebellion.

The conduct of Government subsequent to this period being grounded on the antecedent circumstances of the Colonies, we must, in this enquiry, look back to the commencement of the last war. At that time France meditated the conquest of British America. Hostilities were begun on the Ohio, within the boundaries of Virginia and Pennsylvania, while vigorous preparations were making to invade New England from Canada. Alarmed at the impending danger, and conscious of their own inability to withstand the power of France, the Colonies supplicated the protection of the Mother-country. A British fleet under Commodore Keppel, and a British army commanded by General Braddock, hastened to their assistance. The strongest of all motives now pressed them to exert their utmost abilities, in defence of their civil and religious rights. No one could suspect that, like the Waggoner in the fable, they would content themselves with supplications only, without putting their shoulders to the wheel. Had a sentiment of that nature prevailed in the British senate, they would certainly have passed laws to compel *them*, on so great an emergency, to a discharge of the first and most important of all political duties. And had this been done, there can be no doubt they would have submitted to, and cheerfully acknowledged, the justice and policy of the measure.

But before the year 1763, America had been considered as in an infant state, capable of contributing little towards the national defence. Just information respecting the amount of her wealth, was wanting. The State, therefore, lest it might unwittingly impose burthens she was not able to sustain, forbore to levy money on her; but confiding in her justice to herself when her own existence was in danger, proceeded by requisitions from the Crown for that purpose; and as an encouragement to a faithful discharge of her duty, Parliament annually engaged to reimburse such of the Colonies as should be liberal in their aids. How far they complied with their reasonable duty, and what their own safety demanded, will be shewn hereafter.

Immediately subsequent to the peace, Great Britain having expended many millions in the defence of the Colonies, the state of America became an object of public investigation. Gentlemen of abilities, who had been sent over for her protection, and had enquired into her circumstances, returned to Britain. From their knowledge, just information poured in upon the great councils of the nation. America was found to contain 2,500,000 people, more than one-fourth of the number in Great Britain. Before the war, the increase of her wealth had been slowly progressive, but during its continuance, rapid and immense. Incredible sums raised on the subjects in this country, and transmitted for the supplies of the navy and army, contributed not a little to her opulence. Her soil produced, in great abundance, every necessary

cessary to supply her own wants, besides an immense surplus for exportation. Her freighted ships traversed the ocean to almost every port where British subjects were admitted to traffic. The balance of her trade being greatly in her favour, they returned loaded with treasure, and every luxury which Europe afforded. Their dissipation was scarcely paralleled in Great Britain; and greatly exceeded that scanty proportion of aids she had granted upon the requisition of the Crown.

It further appeared from experience, that the mode of obtaining the colonial aids did not answer the purpose; for that, numerous and opulent as the people of America were, she had failed of her duty; that the sums annually granted were, upon the whole, far short of her reasonable proportion; that some of the Colonies gave at one time liberally, at another time nothing; that some did not contribute at all towards the burthen of the war, though America was the great object in contest; and that this omission of duty arose from several causes. The Colonies, in respect to each other, were so many distinct and independent societies, having no political connection among themselves, nor any authority over each other, by which they could procure the knowledge of each other's circumstances, necessary to ascertain their respective proportions. Nor had they any power to compel them to act in concert for their common safety, save the supreme authority of Great Britain, which had been waved on this occasion by the mode of separate requisitions. Thus left to themselves, they were led and governed by

by their distinct and separate passions, prejudices, and interests. Hence those who were most exposed to the immediate assaults of the enemy, or were actually invaded, gave liberally, while those that were more distant, or were covered by another colony, gave nothing. And even those who had been in the most imminent danger, and had received the assistance of the other Colonies, as soon as the danger was removed, refused, though called upon, to contribute. The natural consequence of all which was, that the sums granted by Great Britain in the beginning of the war were wasted; the expeditions, concerted for their own safety, failed; the British troops were defeated, and the lives of many thousands of their British fellow-subjects, sent over for their protection, by their parsimony and injustice were sacrificed; the war was protracted; and the State was obliged to impose immense additional taxes on its subjects in Britain, to supply the deficiencies arising from the refractory conduct and ingratitude of those in America.

Such was the state and conduct of America during the last war; and such it must have continued so long as the Crown should rely on drawing from the Colonies a reasonable proportion of aids, by the mode of requisitions. At the conclusion of that war, a Minister was at the helm, to whose abilities, firmness of mind, and love of public justice, future historians, when the influence of prejudice and party shall cease, will pay the just tribute. This Minister perceiving the involuntary inability in the Colonies, arising from their disunited state, and the voluntary

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injustice

injustice arising from their passions, prejudices, and separate interests; and viewing in its full force the absurdity of expecting an equitable proportion of aids towards the national defence from them, when not only the quantity, but the contribution itself, was left at their pleasure, resolved to drop the ill-advised and ineffectual mode of requisition.

But he could not stop here. He held a trust, from which every subject had a right to expect an equal distribution of the burthens of society. Was he to continue those burthens on three-fourths of the subjects of the empire, and to permit the other fourth to be exempted? Was he to suffer the opulence of America to increase, and her sons to riot in luxury and dissipation, without contributing a reasonable proportion of those aids which were necessary to her own safety? Was he to commit yet greater injustice to his country, by insuring that safety, in future, by those aids which were to be raised on the people in Great Britain alone, already labouring under an immense debt incurred by the American war? Public justice, and the most sacred of all temporal obligations, his public duty, forbad it.

What other method then could he pursue, save that which was founded in a multitude of precedents, and which the constitution of the British government directed? The exercise of supreme authority by the State over the Colonies was that method; he knew, that the injudicious mode of requisitions had been adopted on account of the want of information. That information was now obtained. He knew, that

a perfect

a perfect subordination of the Colonists had been established, by the patents and proclamations under which they were originally settled—that their right to the territory had been granted by the representative and trustee of the British Society, under its great seal, reserving rents in lieu of services—that the oaths of allegiance had ever been taken by the Colonists to him as that representative—that all their civil and political rights had been derived from, and were held under, him in that capacity—that the common law of the realm, and the statutes made before their settlement, had been extended—that innumerable laws for regulating their trade, restraining their manufactures, directing their internal police, and levying taxes both internal and external, were to be found in the volumes of British statutes—and that every document of the State, relative to America, were so many demonstrations, and almost every act of the Colonies, respecting Great Britain, were so many incontestible recognitions, of their subordination to the supreme authority of the British empire, in all cases whatsoever.

In this light, the light in which all antecedent Ministers, all preceding Parliaments, and the Colonists themselves, had on all occasions considered America, the Minister considered it. The national defence being the first great object of his duty, and an equal distribution of the burthens necessary for that purpose the next in importance—he proposed the Stamp Act in parliament, in their session 1763, which passed into a resolve. Of this resolution the Colonies had official notice. They were told, “ unless they would

“ grant a just and reasonable proportion of aids
 “ in their several Assemblies, or should point out
 “ some mode by which it might be done more
 “ agreeably to themselves, national justice re-
 “ quired, that the act should pass in the next
 “ session.” The resolve of the House of Com-
 mons, and the notice from the Minister, were
 considered by the American Assemblies. A year
 elapsed, and no aids were granted, no other
 mode was hinted to Parliament, and no objec-
 tion was made either to the equity or burthen of
 the tax, or to the mode of raising it, or to the au-
 thority by which it was to be levied, except only by
 the Massachusetts and Virginia Assemblies, who
 rested in a denial of the constitutional authority
 of Parliament, without granting, or offering to
 grant, their reasonable proportion of aids to the
 national defence. The act therefore passed una-
 nimously. Indeed, no law within the compass
 of human wisdom could be found more just
 and adequate to its purpose;—none better cal-
 culated to discover the just proportions of the
 wealth possessed by the several Colonies;—none
 better to establish a just distribution of the tax
 among them;—nor any which could so effec-
 tually carry its own powers into execution.

The fate of this statute, equally unfortunate to
 both countries, is universally known. Its exe-
 cution was opposed by a small interested faction
 in America, and that faction was vindicated and
 supported in Britain. It was repealed on prin-
 ciples void of reason or justice, and contrary to
 the most evident policy. The perseverance and
 firmness of the Minister stood opposed by the
 timidity and groundless fears of the C—b—t.

The

The latter prevailed; and the Minister foreseeing the measure portentous of events equally important and mischievous to the welfare of the society, reluctantly deserted the service of his country, which he had in vain attempted to promote.

A foresight of the mischiefs which would flow from the repeal of this statute, was not confined to the Minister who proposed it. They were *seen* by many in the great councils of the State, they were feared by some in the C—b—t, and they were even within the shallow comprehension of the Minister who succeeded him, and by whose factious influence the repeal had been effected. Even this Minister dreaded the consequences of his own conduct. He knew, that the remonstrances of the Colonies rested in a denial of the supreme authority of the State. He foresaw, that the repeal of the act, *on that ground*, would naturally lead to a like denial in respect to every other matter cognisable in Parliament. He could not suspect, that those who had presumed to deny its power in a matter the most important to its existence, the most momentous to the safety of society, and more particularly to their own, would hesitate to oppose it in others of infinitely less moment. He knew, and he believed that others knew, that he had been surrendering up to groundless clamours, in which the sinister views of his own ambition had united, the most important right of the supreme authority of the State, a right to command the aids necessary to the national defence; that he had destroyed that unity of power in the British, which has ever been found
essential

essential in the constitution of all states, and without which the members of no society can be compelled to act in concert for the general safety ; and of course, that he had laid a broad foundation for the independence of America.

Alarmed at the prospect of these mischiefs, shame and regret took place for a moment of his ambition. He endeavoured to heal the wound, which the dagger from his own hand had made in the British empire. The remedy applied was the Declaratory Act. In order to make this palatable to his factious American friends, he *treacherously* undertook to assure them, without any authority from Parliament, " that though the act was declaratory of the " right, yet Government never would attempt " to exercise it." The Colonies were to be considered in the most absurd of all lights ; as members of the British society, and yet independent of its sovereign authority ;—as so many distinct inferior politic bodies, without any political subordination ;—as so many little *imperia in imperio* ;—as members possessed of the most perfect justice and integrity ;—as devoid of human prejudices, attachments or frailties, and left to their own pleasure to do what justice they should think proper to a people who had saved them from ruin, and were bound to protect them in future.

No man, acquainted with those motives which ever yet have produced a revolt in society, can believe, that either of the before-mentioned acts could be the original cause of the rebellion. The principle of the first was confessed to be just, and the burthen imposed

was so light as not to be made an object of complaint; and the second neither did or could do them an injury. It neither imposed a burthen, nor deprived the Colonies of a right. It was only declaratory of that authority, to which they had submitted from the first dawn of their settlement. Indeed, the enacting and repeal of the Stamp Act, and the passing of the Declaratory Bill, with the mean and contemptible assurances attending it, discovered such a want of firmness and stability in the British councils, as to afford just matter for American ridicule, not reason for complaint, much less for sedition and rebellion. That these transactions had their effects, must be confessed; for though they cannot be said to have been the original cause of the rebellion, yet it is known to every observant American, that so much timidity and weakness in the councils of this country tended to encourage and nourish the seeds of American sedition, long before planted, and now growing fast to a dangerous maturity.

The numbers of people, the commerce and opulence of America, still increasing with amazing rapidity; the trifling debt incurred by the last war being nearly paid off, and Great Britain labouring under an enormous debt, a great part of which was incurred in measures for her protection; repeated demands having been made, by the Crown, of the Assemblies, to grant the necessary sums for the support of the administration of their own justice, to no purpose; and the deficiency being constantly supplied by monies raised on the people of Great Britain,

tain, already overburdened with debt; were so many circumstances which stared every Minister in the face as he came into office. To be altogether inattentive to these considerations, was more than an honest mind, intrusted with the administration of national justice, could support. Besides, as matters then stood upon the American remonstrances against the Stamp Act, the repeal of that Act, the Declaratory Act, and the subsequent assurances from the Minister, the authority of the Parliament over the Colonies was in a manner given up. It was therefore necessary, not only in point of justice, but policy, to pass the Act commonly called the Tea Act.

This act has also been enumerated in the list of American grievances, and as one of the causes of the present rebellion. Let us enquire into the fact. So much of the regulations of this act as related to the imposition of duties on foreign paper, glass, and painters' colours, was indeed unjust. Of this, complaint was made; and the justice of the British Parliament immediately interposed, because it subjected the people of America to a double duty, one payable in Britain, another in America. But the duty on tea remained unrepealed, because no such objection lay to it. The Parliament had, in framing the act, taken off the foreign duty of one shilling payable in Great Britain, and laid only threepence on the pound payable in America. Now, if the duties on the other articles were an unjust burden on the subject in America, it was immediately relieved, and the one imposed on teas was an abundant favour.

It

It enabled them to import that article ninepence in the pound cheaper than they could import it before passing the act.

Of the justice done to the Colonies in the repeal of the duties on paper, glass, and painters' colours, and of the favour done in enabling them to drink their tea, which made so great a part of their subsistence, ninepence in the pound cheaper than they had ever purchased before, the Americans were truly sensible. In vain did the Republicans of New-England set every engine at work, and exert their endeavours, by their partizans in every Colony, to prevail on the merchant not to import, and the people not to buy the article of tea. In vain did they enter into a non-importation agreement. The merchant would, and did import, and the people, led by their true interest, would, and did buy, notwithstanding all their exertions to prevent it.

In order to do a further favour to the people of America, to the prejudice of the British American merchant, but to the benefit of the East India Company, an act was passed to enable the Company, by their agents, to sell their teas in America by lots, in the same manner they were sold in Great Britain. I call this a favour to the people of America. By this act, the shopkeeper or retailer, in the sea-port towns, was enabled to purchase his tea in lots, incumbered only with the freight from Great Britain to America. The consumer of tea in America was obliged to pay only one profit to the Company, another to the shopkeeper. But before the act, they usually paid a profit to

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the

the Company, to the London merchant who bought it of the Company, and sold it to the American merchant, and also to the American merchant, besides the profit of the retailer. So that, by this act, the consumer of this necessary and common article of subsistence was enabled to purchase it at one half of its usual price; an advantage that did not, nor could escape the most vulgar comprehension.

The next act enumerated in the list of American grievances, is that prohibiting the trade of Boston, until the corporation should pay the damages wantonly done to the East India Company. Had the Parliament proceeded further, and deprived the corporation of every privilege it contained on the same terms, no just man would have called it severe: Because, however weighty might have been the burthen, their relief from it was left in their own power, and the condition of relief was nothing more than a strict act of justice, which rested with them to perform or not, at their pleasure. This was the opinion of all America, save a few men who meant to make use of it as an instrument to deceive and mislead the ignorant and incautious into rebellion. Even the inhabitants of the Massachusetts's province, when called upon to unite in opposition to this act, told the Select Men of Boston, That their corporation had done an act of violence and injustice, by destroying the property of their fellow-subjects, and that they only ought to make reparation, and by it relieve themselves from the distress brought on them by their own unjust conduct.

The last in the list is, the act for altering one article in the Massachussett's charter, which takes from the General Court, or Assembly, the right of constituting the middle branch of the legislature, and vests it solely in the King's representative. I shall not now enter on a detail of the mischiefs to the peace and welfare of the province, which had arisen from the want of this regulation. They are notorious to every one acquainted with its political history, and they are briefly recited in the subsequent part of these remarks. It is enough to say, they were intolerable, and had been found by long experience to be totally inconsistent with its subordination to the British empire.

When our present happy constitution was settled, it was the intention of our ancestors that it should be permanent and unalterable. It was wisely formed, equally to avoid the oppression and mischiefs arising from absolute monarchy and democracy, from tyranny and licentiousness. The authority of the Crown, and the privileges of the people, were so placed in opposite scales, as always, when rightly informed, and acting on principles which lead to their mutual safety, to be on an equal balance. But as the monarch and the people were both subject to human frailties, and naturally fond of unlimited power, an independent aristocratical authority was so appointed, as to be able to throw its weight in either scale, as the other should preponderate. By this policy alone the duration and freedom of the British government has been maintained for ages past, and may be maintained for ages to come, if strictly adhered

to. How often this aristocratical power has been thrown into the different scales, and how much oftener into the popular than the monarchical, to preserve the constitution, may be seen in our history. Now the right of appointing this aristocratical part of the British government, has been fixed and established in the Crown from the first dawn of the present government. The people of England have never claimed, nor pretended to claim it; and I am sure, that no King was ever authorised to give away any of the rights of the Crown. They are fiduciary trusts, unalienably vested in him and his successors for ever, for the benefit of the society. They were conferred on him, to maintain the rights of Government, and not to destroy them. But by this grant of the aristocratical rights of the constitution to a part of the commonalty of the empire, the King assumed a power by which he might, at his pleasure, destroy the essence of the British government, subvert its balance, and throw it into inextricable confusion. For, if he may grant them to the subjects of the State emigrating to America, he may certainly grant them to those who remain in Britain. The most artful reasoner cannot contradict this truth without apparent sophistry; because no reason can be assigned why he may grant to the subjects of the State settling out of the realm, rights which he cannot grant to those within it; and if, by the fundamental laws of the State, he holds a right to grant these powers to the people of Britain, he may, at his pleasure, destroy the constitution of the British government.

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Supported by these principles, I may surely affirm, that no King of England was ever vested with a right to grant to the people of the Massachusetts legislature, the sole appointment, or a share in the appointment, of the aristocratic part of its constitution; that Parliament possessed authority to alter the charter of Boston in this particular, and in every other where the powers granted were inconsistent with fundamental laws and the established constitution of the state; and not only the charter of Massachusetts, but every other charter granted to the Colonies, whose powers tend to weaken either the monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical balance of the British Government; and that it was their duty indispensable to make such alteration; and not only to do this, but to proceed in the work till every Colony charter is made conformable to the true fundamental principles of a mixed monarchy; because these alterations are not only evidently necessary to the safety of the state, but also to the happiness of the Colonists themselves.

But it has been said, that this act gave the universal alarm throughout America. This is an assertion without any foundation in reason or truth. It could alarm none but those who were already attached to democratical principles, and in whose breasts an aversion to the British Government was already fixed. All the loyalists throughout the Colonies rather approved of than condemned the measure. It affected no Colony but the Massachusetts immediately, and none in prospect, save Connecticut and Rhode-Island; and even in these, the men whose
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interest and honours did not depend on popular assemblies and popular confusion, thought it just and necessary. In Pennsylvania the people had petitioned for a Royal Government, in which this measure was included and approved; and in Maryland, and all the Royal Governments, it had been established from the first settlement of their Colonies. The Pennsylvanians could not, therefore, be alarmed at a measure which conferred on their fellow-colonists the very boon they had prayed for themselves: nor could the people of Maryland, and the Royal Governments, be supposed to resent, or be disgusted at this act of the State, inasmuch as this right had been exercised by the governors of their own provinces without the least murmur or complaint, ever since their settlement.

When these acts, which are the great subjects of American complaints, are impartially considered, what do we find in them to support those complaints? What, that has the least appearance of a design in Government to enslave the Colonies? The reader has now before him the principles upon which these statutes were made. He perceives that the Stamp Act was passed to draw a reasonable revenue from Colonies which had been, and must continue to be, protected by the State—That the Declaratory Act was rendered necessary by the conduct of the Colonies, to support the supremacy of Parliament, which they had denied—That the Tea Act was designed to procure a revenue from them, but in a manner so beneficial, that for every three pence paid they received one shilling. The act for altering the Massachus-

sett's charter only declared that to be void which was void in itself, because granted without authority, and annulled an unconstitutional power, which was really mischievous to the people themselves. The Boston Port Act was no more than an act of common and natural justice. What was it the duty of Administration to have done? Were they to suffer the burthen of American protection to lie longer heavy on the shoulders of the people of this country? Were Britons to become *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*, for an American faction? Were they tamely to permit the supreme authority of the State to be insolently trampled on by its ungrateful subjects, without supporting it? Were they to hear the calls for justice from British subjects, against the acts of violence of the Boston faction, and not give them redress? And were statutes made for those purposes, supported as they are by the principles of all laws human and divine, to be tortured by any sophistry into causes sufficient to justify rebellion? If there is a man living, who will subscribe to the affirmative of these questions, with him I will not contend.

Having thus shewn that the American rebellion has not arisen from those motives to which the rebels in America, and their adherents in Britain, have artfully and falsely imputed them, with intent to conceal their own flagitious designs, we will search for Truth where she is only to be found; and endeavour to demonstrate by what *progressive* means, and fatal succession of events, the original spark has been produced, and nourished up to its present flame; which by
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its extensive influence has destroyed the peace of Great-Britain, and seems to endanger its existence as an independent empire.

To do this, we must look as far back into the political history of this country, as the beginning of the sixteenth century. At this period, Christianity in Britain was delivered from the shackles of the church of Rome. Henry VIII. Edw. VI. and Queen Elizabeth had performed the generous task. Under their auspices the church of England became established; but too *rigidly* attached to her own doctrines and modes of worship, her rules admitted of little latitude or indulgence for different opinions. That restraint on the consciences of men, from which she had so lately been relieved, was, by herself, too strictly imposed on others. That freedom of the human mind, which is not always to be restrained by the wisest regulations, and which was rather increased than diminished by the Reformation, remained yet too much limited. The zeal, I may call it rage, for more liberty in religion, soon broke the bounds of that restraint, and multiplied into a variety of sects dissenting from the Church. These she harassed and distressed. Among the persecuted were the Puritans, or *First Independents*; and none felt the weight of her power with more severity.

At this conduct in the Church we shall not be surprised, when we review the principles of these sectaries; their religious tenets were altogether heterodox, and their principles of ecclesiastical polity were as directly repugnant to those of the established Church, as their ideas of civil government were to those of a mixed monarchy;

narchy; and of course equally inconsistent with the safety of both.

By the 25th of Henry VIII. the King had been declared the supreme head of the church. From him flowed all ecclesiastical promotions; by him the bishops were appointed; under him all the inferior clergy held their offices; and the rules of the church were established by his authority: but these sectaries held it a maxim too sacred to be dispensed with, that the power of their church could be subject to no temporal authority whatsoever; that it was a separate independent body, governed by the ordinances of their king Jesus, which they expounded according to their own fanatic and excentric notions; that the privilege and power of electing and ordaining ministers of the gospel was, of right, vested in the people; that they who held the right to invest with, must hold the right to dispossess a minister of, his power and office; and that all offences against good morals and the rules of their church, ought to be heard and determined by the people, or congregational communicants, from whose decision there could be no lawful appeal to any temporal authority whatever.

It was not to be expected that people possessed of these notions, and who had adopted them as sacred tenets of conscience, could ever make good and faithful subjects to a state, where the licentiousness of popular power was checked and restrained by that of monarchy and aristocracy. This kind of popular independence in ecclesiastical, was so nearly allied to that in civil polity, it is scarcely possible to conceive that the human

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mind could hold the one and reject the other. That kind of reason which led to the one, as strongly inculcated the other; and the principle of either was the principle of both. They therefore maintained, that the right to all *civil* as well as *ecclesiastical* power originated in the people, and ought to remain vested in them without any controul. If these doctrines, so manifestly inconsistent with the principles of the British constitution, taught the Puritans to believe that an independent popular Government in their own hands could alone effectually secure their independence in religion, it at the same time convinced the established Government and Church, that their safety (in the then infant state of the Reformation, which required an union in sentiment to support it) depended on suppressing them.

Zealously attached to their own notions, a number of these sectaries, to avoid the persecution in Britain, emigrated to Holland, in hopes of finding a Government more favourable to their designs. Here they were received with every indulgence the freedom of the human mind could desire. They erected churches, settled congregations, established among themselves their own church-government, and lived without molestation. But this did not satisfy them; they were not happy. One and the first object of their enthusiasm, the possession of a government of their own purely republican, was not gratified, nor likely to be so under the States. An aristocratic society was as different from their ideas of civil polity, as a mixed monarchy. They, therefore, resolved to go in
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search of further adventures in another country. The Hollanders laboured to persuade them to settle under their states with their people on Hudson's river : but this did not answer their purpose. They chose to be in a country alone, unmixed with others, and to have all power in their own possession. That country was New-England; and neither the dangers of an ocean rarely explored, nor of a wilderness filled with savages, could divert them from their purpose.

In the year 1620 they arrived, and settled *New Plymouth*. Here they set up their own modes of worship and form of government. And as the two great objects of their emigration were an independent church, and a republican society, they instituted both; vesting the powers of direction and punishment, in all cases whatsoever, in the people at large. All their officers were elective; and when elected, they exercised all the powers of government, legislative, executive, and fœderative; but under forms and ceremonies as different as possible from those of the state whose territory they possessed, and whose subjects they were: and all this was done without the least authority from the British Government. In this manner they lived until the year 1629, when they obtained a grant for their territories from the Council of Plymouth, which I shall have occasion soon more particularly to mention.

The beginning of the reign of Charles I. was not more remarkable for toleration, than that of his immediate predecessor. A persecution of the Nonconformists continued. The

Puritans, among others, were *harassed* and *suffered*. Their principles of religion and polity were in no essential different from those of the Brownists or Independents; and their spirits and enthusiasm were equally intolerant of the rules of the established church and government. The path to America being now explored by their brethren the Brownists, whose settlement had considerably increased, a number of these sectaries also resolved to settle in New England. To countenance their design, they purchased of the Plymouth Company a part of their territory. But it contained no powers to institute civil policy. To what reason this omission was owing, is not positively known. It could not be occasioned by a reluctance in the grantees to accept of them, because they were necessary to their safety, and the accomplishment of their views. It is therefore more than probable, when we consider that the grantors were Lords of his Majesty's Council, and other noblemen and gentlemen, all of them members of the established church, that they would not entrust men of such dangerous principles to the church and state, with the powers of government in a distant country. However, this omission obliged them to apply to the Crown for a charter, which they obtained March 4, 1628.

Upon a view of this charter, sundry observations occur too important to be omitted. Nine tenths of the grantees were Nonconformists, composed of a mixture of Puritans and Presbyterians. The powers and privileges asked for and granted were merely republican. Every
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prerogative of the Crown, and all the rights of the aristocratic part of the British constitution, were sacrificed to the republican views of the grantees.

By this charter the grantees were constituted a body politic, with all the rights necessary to form a complete independent civil society. They were vested with a power to receive into and make free of their society such persons as "they should think fit;" to chuse annually their own Governor, Deputy-Governor, and assistants out of the persons so denizen'd; and in these were vested as full and complete a legislative power, as that of the King, Lords, and Commons, so far as regarded the territory granted and the inhabitants of it. Or, in the words of the charter, they were impowered "to make laws
"and ordinances for the good and welfare of
"the Company, and for the government of
"the lands and plantations, and the people
"inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them,
"from time to time, should be thought meet."

There was no other controul to this complete legislative authority, than that the laws and ordinances should not be contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. And, in respect to this, there was not the least provision that these legislators should transmit their acts for the repeal or even inspection of the State, nor any authority reserved in the Crown to demand such transmission; nor in case of refusal, a forfeiture or penalty to enforce it. So that even this controul was insignificant.

Nor was this charter less liberal in granting away the executive rights and prerogatives of
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the Crown. The grantees held under it full powers to settle the "forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy," and to "name and style all sorts of officers, both superior and inferior, distinguishing and setting forth the several duties, powers, and limits of every such office," and the "forms of the oaths to be respectively ministered unto them;" to dispose and order the election of all such officers;" and to impose all "fines, imprisonments, and other lawful corrections" on the people. To which was added the right of making war and peace, under no other restrictions than those contained in the laws of nature and nations. Thus all the powers of the State, legislative, executive, and even *foederative* were given up by their charter. An *imperium in imperio*, or a government which was intended to be dependent and subordinate, was established with independent powers. But more; the charter is so far from confining the essential principles of their polity to those of the parent state, that every power, right, and privilege granted, is purely democratical. All of them originate with, and once in every year revert to popular assemblies, without a single ray of monarchy or aristocracy mixed with them.

A charter thus framed exactly accorded with the Puritanic and democratical wishes and principles of the grantees, and the people who were to be governed by it. But by what means the powers of government and dominion, so totally inconsistent with the supreme legislative authority of the state, so subversive of the rights
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of the Crown, and in all respects repugnant to the established form of a mixed monarchy, could be obtained from a King, whose evident design was to extend his prerogatives beyond their constitutional bounds, is at this day difficult to ascertain. The most probable conjecture is, that they were obtained by corruption. Indeed this opinion seems founded in something more than conjecture. Documents of some credit say, that the large sum of two thousand pounds was paid for the purchase: This will appear yet more probable, when we consider the perplexity and distress which the Court of Charles was often subjected to for want of money. Indeed it seems impossible to account for it otherwise; for it exceeds all the bounds of reasonable conjecture, that a Prince, possessed of such high ideas of the extent of his prerogative, should grant a charter effectually subversive of that prerogative, on any other ground than that of necessity.

However this may be, it was not reasonable to expect that men, governed by these principles, and possessed of the unlimited powers of this charter, would ever adopt the laws of England, or even found their own laws upon the same principles; much less that they would retain an attachment to, or even a favourable opinion of, the principles of the English Government. All experience in the political history of man—the influence which different civil polity ever had, and will have, on the human passions and affections, forbid it. If we would remove vicious habits, manners, or opinions inconsistent with the unity and safety of the society,
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prohibitory laws must be made to suppress them. If we would form or maintain salutary habits, manners, or opinions consistent with the interest of a society, preceptive laws must be made to inculcate and support them. These maxims are founded in common sense, in common policy, and in almost universal practice. But this charter, by some strange inattention, influence, or infatuation in the Government that granted it, was manifestly calculated to efface all the laws, habits, manners, and opinions which it ought to support, to destroy that system of polity which it ought to have maintained, and to level all the orders, arrangements, checks, and balances, wisely graduated and tempered, of a mixed monarchy, to the lowest and most imperfect of all political systems, a tumultuous, seditious, and inert democracy. How far this assertion is just, we shall perceive in tracing the conduct of the people who settled under it.

I have mentioned before, that the first settlers in New England had nothing less in view than an independent establishment, both in religion and government. For these reasons they first left England, and emigrated to Holland; they left Holland, and ventured to New England; and they and their friends, united with them in religious and political opinions, obtained the charter now under consideration. It was certainly the intent of the charter, that the corporation should be established in England, and that the colonists under it should be governed by the general laws of the realm, and the particular laws made by the corporation thus established. But the penetration of these enthusiasts

gafts soon discovered, or perhaps it was known to them before, that the powers of an inferior corporation, under the immediate eye and controul of the fupreme authority of the State, however unlimited their powers from the Crown, would not venture to eftablifh their independence, or at leaft would not be fo bold in doing it, as one at three thoufand miles diftance, where their laws, their manners, and conduct might be concealed or difguifed from the penetration of the State. It was therefore agreed by the corporation, within eighteen months after it had been eftablifhed in England, to remove all its powers to America, without the leaft authority from the Crown for that purpofe.

Previous to the charter they had given evident proofs of their design. They had eftablifhed a form of government altogether popular, and a church on congregational principles. They had abolifhed the ufe of the common prayer and fervice of the church of England. An attempt to perform it in a particular fociety, collected for that purpofe, was adjudged fedition againft the government, and two of the members of their council were banifhed from the community for that offence.

Upon the removal of their charter, they thought, that the foundation of their independence was laid. By what means they erected the fuperftructure is a curious enquiry; it is alfo a neceffary one to unfold the genuine fpirit of the people, and to lead us to the caufes of the prefent rebellion. A Government was foon eftablifhed, altogether

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democratical. A Governor, Deputy governor, an Assistant, and a Magistracy were appointed; —and as the first great object was the establishment of their own religion, to the exclusion of the Church of England, and all other denominations of Christians, the first law of any moment that was enacted, declared, “that none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were members of their own church.” By this law, made directly contrary to the evident design of the charter, which gave any subject a right to settle in New England, a majority of the people then in that country were deprived of their civil rights and privileges, rendered incapable of holding any place of honour or profit, and liable to be tried for all offences by persons adverse in opinions and sentiments to them. The illegality and cruelty of this act were obvious; it was as repugnant to the dictates of reason and humanity, as it was inconsistent with the spirit and design of the charter. And yet it continued in force until the dissolution of their charter, or upwards of sixty years. But it was necessary to the exclusive establishment of their church; and to this measure whatever appeared necessary, was in the opinion of their Government lawful and just.

It was not long before they found, that this law, although it effectually deprived all persons of different persuasions in religion from participating in their Government, it did not prevent their settling in the territory. Many, indeed a majority of the settlers, differed from them in religious sentiments and modes of worship, and many others were expected from England, with
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design to purchase and settle; all which tended to subvert their original design of reserving the government and territory of New England to themselves, "the only chosen people of God." Alarmed at this prospect, an act yet more unjust, and more repugnant to the spirit of the charter, was passed. All persons were forbid to entertain in their houses any stranger, who came with intent to reside among them, without liberty from one of the standing council, or two other assistants. The penalties were as severe as the law was unjust. Forty pounds were imposed on every person who should receive such stranger, and twenty pounds for every month he remained with him, and one hundred pounds on any town which should give or sell to him a lot of ground to reside on.

Thus the same people, who had lately been persecuted, became the persecutors. It would be tedious to mention in detail all the cruelties committed under the authority of their synod, and this democratical government. It would exhibit a picture of human folly and wickedness more painful than entertaining. I shall only therefore remark, that all the subjects of the state, who held different opinions of religion, were deemed either libellous against the church, seditious against the government, or blasphemous against their God. Every tenet of religion inconsistent with their own, was adjudged heterodox and heretical. We cannot therefore be surpris'd, upon looking into the history of their government, to find instances of inquisitorial cruelty. Toleration in the rulers was deemed a sin which would bring

down the judgments of heaven upon the land. Inquisition was made into men's private judgments, as well as their declarations and practice. Many innocent and inoffensive people were imprisoned, many banished on pain of suffering death in case they returned, and some were condemned and suffered death; and all the rights of conscience and humanity were violated and suppressed, although, by the words of the charter, toleration in religion and full liberty of conscience were expressly granted. If any reasonable mind can desire further evidence than these transactions, that the people now settled in New England intended to exclude all persons of every other religion but their own, and to set up an independent popular republic in that country, it will appear from the declaration of their favourite governor, Mr. Winthrop, who must be supposed to be perfectly acquainted with their views. For he says, in a letter wrote to Lord Say, that "God had chosen New England to plant *his people* in, and that it would be displeasing to him that *this work* should be hindered."

We are not to expect that men who paid so little regard to their charter in matters of religion, would adhere to it further than was consistent with the great object in view in matters of polity. So far as it promoted their independence, they complied with its directions, but no further. They established a popular government conformable to it. But instead of governing the society by the general statute and common law of the realm, or conforming to the principles of those laws in such as were made by

by themselves, they enacted new laws totally repugnant to, and subversive of, them. Although the charter gave them no authority over the life of the subject, they assumed and conferred it on their courts of judicature. And it was a settled opinion, that the laws of England had no force in their society, unless brought over and confirmed by their own legislature. They formed a new code of laws, founded on the laws of Moses, much more severe, and in many instances more sanguinary, than either the statute or common law. Their laws were extended to facts committed out of the jurisdiction of their corporation, and their courts took cognisance of piracies, murders, felonies, and other offences committed on the high seas, while the laws of England made for the regulation of their commerce were utterly disregarded. A law for the punishment of sedition or treason, or any offence against the person of the King, or against the state, was not known in their society. And it is remarkably characteristic of this people, that although they made provision against the perpetration of every other crime which human nature is liable to commit, and particularly one to punish treason against their own government with death, this only should be wanting in their first system of polity. This circumstance, added to the popular form of their government, their dislike to the English laws, and their institution of a code so totally different, are so many proofs, amounting to demonstration, of their disaffection to the Crown, their enmity to mixed monarchy, and of their fixed resolution

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to establish an independent commonwealth of their own.

Under this charter the people of Massachusetts remained until it was resumed by Charles II. A few years after the Prince of Orange arrived, and the Revolution in England took place, fond of their old licentiousness and confused government, they petitioned in vain for a renewal of their old charter. That wise prince, little acquainted as he must have been with the constitution of England, saw its defects, and wished, by a new one, to bring back those people to a just attachment to the Government he intended to support. This is evident from the alterations he made; but whether it was occasioned by the critical situation of his affairs in England, or to some other cause, it is certain he did not lay the axe to the root. Some of the former popular rights were lopped off, but, like pruning the exterior branches of a tree, they only tended to swell and strengthen the trunk. They did not eradicate the spirit of their Mosaic laws; they did not establish that balance, and those checks on the licentious power of the people, which are necessary under a mixed Government.

The governor, under the new charter, is appointed by the Crown; he has a power to adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve the assembly—his assent is necessary to all laws—he has the sole appointment of military officers. These were all amendments of the old charter, and tended to bring their Government a little nearer in resemblance to that of the State; but the resemblance was very imperfect and distorted; for the deputy-governor is
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yet chosen by the people, and the governor cannot appoint any of the officers of the courts of justice without the assent of the council. All other civil officers are elected by the two houses, while he only retains a negative on their choice; and the council, who are thus united with him in his executive powers, are chosen or appointed by the general court or assembly. Thus the first branch of the legislature is deprived of the occasional, and often necessary, assistance and weight of the second; and the executive power is bound in the chain of democratical influence in such manner, that it cannot appoint a single officer of Government without the assent of a popular assembly. The second branch, which ought to be unbiassed and independent, is the creature of the people, and dependent on them for their annual existence; while the third or democratical branch, besides all the powers necessary to check the excess of authority in the governor, possess a considerable share in the royal rights and prerogatives of the Crown. In this truly injudicious and absurd manner are the principles of the three simple forms of government jumbled together. Instead of three branches uninfluenced by, and independent of, each other in their judgments and decisions, the two highest in order, and most dignified, are dependent on the lowest and meanest.

It would extend these observations to a tedious length, should I give a circumstantial detail of all the ambitious designs and arbitrary attempts made by the assemblies of this Province, from time to time, to render the two other branches of the legislature yet more dependent,

pendent, and to assume all power into their own hands. I shall therefore only mention some of them, referring my reader to the History wrote by Governor Hutchinson, who appears to be the best informed of any of their historians.

It is an essential part of the English constitution, that the King should be independent; that the civil list should be fixed and permanent, and the expence and support of the Crown should not depend on the annual vote of the other branches of the legislature. It is for the same reason just and necessary, that Governors of Provinces should have reasonable and independent salaries for the support of their dignity and freedom of judgment; but the assemblies of the Massachusetts, in order to deprive the governor of the free exercise of his judgment in the administration of government, have ever refused to grant a fixed salary. Their grants have been only from year to year, or half-yearly; they have been withheld or granted according as the governor gratified them in all their popular measures and designs; and in some instances, by this means, they have compelled their governors to violate their instructions, and submit to acts equally injurious to the rights of the Crown, and the true interest of the people.

The history and public records of the Province afford a variety of attempts of the assembly to assume all the powers of the Crown, and to render their Governor and Council cyphers in government. They will prove, that their assemblies have assumed a right to appoint officers, who by the directions of the charter can only be appointed by the general court; that they have

have of their own authority embodied and arrayed men in arms, and sent them upon expeditions, contrary to the judgment, and against the will of the governor; that they have interfered with his right to treat with the natives, and prevented a treaty; that they have assumed the superintendence of his Majesty's armies, forts and garrisons; that they have undertaken to issue proclamations, and to appoint illegal and arbitrary committees, and to order the Attorney-General to carry on illegal prosecutions; that they have assumed the right of adjourning their house against the will and consent of the King's representative, in whom alone that right was vested by the charter; that they have attempted to appoint the council without consent of the governor, and when appointed, to deprive them of their essential rights; that they have passed a vote for removing the general court to a different place from that appointed in the governor's writ; that they have attempted to deprive him of his right, by the charter, to draw on the treasury for the ordinary exigencies of Government; that they have attempted to take upon themselves the command and direction of the militia; that they have compelled their governor to give up the right of treating with the natives, to treat in the name of the general court, and to submit to their inspection the very speech he was about to make to them; that they have attempted to assume the powers of a court-martial, and appointed committees to take the sole conduct of the war with the natives out of the governor's hands; that they have threatened to draw off the forces by their own authority from

the defence of the Province; that they have taken from the governor his right to pay the officers of government, and suffer no draughts on the treasury for payment of the salaries of officers, until the assembly have judged of the performance of their services; that they have refused to pay a military officer his wages, because he had obeyed the orders of the governor, agreeable to military duty; and that they have passed a resolve that the governor's public seal, affixed to a message delivered to the Indians, be defaced.

After these specimens of the turbulent and seditious conduct of the people of this Province, *educated under the unlimited and unconstitutional powers of their former and present charter*, and that too during their feeble and infant state, we are naturally led to look forward to measures more alarming to Government, as soon as they shall be possessed of greater numbers and more strength. But before we proceed to unfold those measures, we must, for the sake of having all the original causes of so great a rebellion before us, take a view of the other charters granted to promote the settlement of America. In these we shall find the same deviations from the form of the principal government, the same unlimited and unconstitutional powers, and consequently, in the people educated under them, the same popular aversion and seditious opposition to the laws and constitution of the British State, and the same design of becoming, as soon as their strength and maturity would enable them, an independent people.

The charters I allude to, are those of Rhode-Island and Connecticut. These charters, upon
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comparing them with that of Massachusetts, will be found in no respect essentially different. The form of their government was in substance the same. All the legislative, executive, and even the foederative powers, or the rights of war and peace, were vested in the freemen of the province. They were so many pure democracies, without the least mixture of aristocracy or monarchy. All those checks, and that balance of power, which form the excellence of the British government, and which give it strength, and secure the freedom of its subjects, were omitted. They were in fact constituted by their several charters so many complete independent societies, established within the state. I call them independent, because in tenure as well as extent of power, they were so unlimited, that nothing was wanting which could be necessary to a society perfectly independent.

The inferior corporations of the English society, and I may add, of all other societies whatever, are formed on the polity of their principal systems. They are governed by the general laws of the state; in Great Britain by the common and statute laws; and their legislative powers are so confined, that they have often occasion to apply to the supreme authority for laws and local regulations necessary to their own particular welfare. It is this, which in part forms the subordination and dependence of all inferior politic bodies. But these societies were made competent to every act which could be necessary in a society perfectly independent. There was no one regulation which could be necessary to their interest

or happiness, for which they were obliged to look up to or ask of the Parliament. And what is yet more extraordinary, all superintendence over their legislative, executive, or fœderative powers, was given up by the supreme representative of the state. They were not obliged to transmit any of their transactions for the inspection or controul either of the Crown or Parliament. They made what laws they pleased, and executed them in what manner they pleased, and made peace and war with whom they pleased. Under these circumstances, if they were not independent, they were certainly, in more senses of the word than one, unaccountable communities, and such as never were formed within the authority of any other government hitherto known in the history of mankind. They were what the learned Puffendorf calls "*irregular and monstrous states within a state* *.

Under those charters the people of Rhode Island and Connecticut received their education. Their political as well as their religious princi-

* This Author, in treating of inferior societies, says, "With regard to lawful bodies, it is to be observed, that whatever *right* they possess, or whatever *power* they hold over their members, is all under the *determination of the supreme authority*, which it ought on no account to *oppose* or overbalance. For otherwise, if there could be a body of men, not *subject to the regulations of the civil government*, there would be a *state within a state*." And speaking of the right of the "supreme governor" to form such societies, he further says, "If he has given in express words, *an absolute and independent right* with regard to *some particular affairs*, which concern the *public administration*, then he hath plainly *abdicated* his authority, and by admitting *two heads* in the constitution, hath rendered it *irregular and monstrous*."

ples became fixed. Both were equally popular, and both tended to erase every sentiment in favour of mixed monarchy. All the fundamental laws upon which the structure of the State had been erected, were at one stroke abolished by the institution of a democracy; and not a single principle remained which could remind them of the excellence or value of the government to which they were or ought to be subordinate. Such was the education of British subjects in these two colonies, which in no essential respect, either in their religion or polity, differed from that of the Massachusetts Government.

The influence and different effects of education on the principles, manners, affections, and prejudices of men, are to be seen in every department of life; in every private family; in every private and public school and college; and in every different system of government. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," is a sacred precept, as necessary to be observed in politics, as in religion or morality, and was undoubtedly intended to be so by its author. The fundamental and general laws of every society are the lessons of instruction, by which the subject is daily taught his duty and mode of obedience to the State. It is the uniformity of these lessons, flowing from the same system of consistent polity, which forms the same habits, manners, and political opinions throughout the society, fixes the national attachment, and leads the people to look up to one system of government for their safety and

and happiness, and to act in concert on all occasions to maintain and defend it.

The force of this national attachment, thus fixed by an habitual submission to the same system of government and laws, is to be seen in the conduct of every society, where the uniformity of its system is preserved. We see it equally powerful in a monarchy, a republic, or a mixed government. Will a Frenchman change the absolute power of his King, a Spaniard the despotism of his Monarch, or a Turk the tyranny of his Bashaw, for the civil rights of a Briton? He will not, because habit here becomes a second nature. It compels him to love his oppression, and to prefer it to reasonable liberty. Use has rendered it not only tolerable, but preferable, in his opinion, to that freedom which is founded in different polity, and which he knows not how to assume.

In societies, founded on principles so repugnant to those of the British government, it is reasonable to expect that a faction would be formed, ever watchful to seize the first opportunity of throwing off the small remains of subordination to the State. Such a faction did exist, as I have shewn, from their first settlement, waiting for the opportunity with much solicitude and impatience. Many difficulties prevented the attempt. For a great length of time they were in an infant state, and incompetent in numbers. Their frequent quarrels and wars with the Indians kept them employed, harassed, and distressed. The neighbourhood of the Canadians, and the designs of France, which led

to a conquest of their country, and the arrival of people from Great Britain, of different principles, with regard both to religion and government, were so many obstacles to their design.

At the conclusion of the last war, the two principal difficulties were removed. The cession of Canada to Great Britain at once dispelled their dread of Indian and Canadian incursions, and their numbers were greatly increased, which left them at leisure to execute their dark and insidious design of revolting from the parent state, under whose wing they had been tenderly nursed and protected. Nothing now was wanting, but a plan for collecting their strength, and forming an union of those in the different parts of America, who they imagined might be most easily brought into the measure. The Presbyterians in the southern colonies were the people with whom they wished to be united. The religious and political principles of these sectaries, they knew, would easily assimilate with their own; for, besides other resemblances, they acknowledged no temporal head to their churches, claiming rights uncontrollable by the civil authority; and their ideas of government were equally popular.

The New England Congregationalists, under their first charter, had held their synods. They again, in the year 1725, attempted it under their second, and obtained the Lieutenant Governor's assent to the measure. But this attempt being laid before the Lords Justices, they were forbid to proceed in it. The prohibition was certainly a wise one. It could not be prudent to suffer men, who had so often cruelly persecuted,

cuted, not only the members of the established church, but of every other society differing in opinion from them, and who held principles so dangerous to the established constitution of the State, to meet in a public body, and in an authoritative manner, without the consent of the King, who in all sound policy ought to be the head of every public body, whether civil or religious. But undismayed at this check to their intended union, they never rested until they had established it in substance, though under a different name. Instead of a synod, they called it a committee. In this committee they were as effectually united as they could have been in a synod. They exercised the same powers, and were a synod in every thing but the name.

The churches of the Presbyterians throughout the Colonies had hitherto remained unconnected with each other. To form these into one religious, as well as one political body, and to establish an alliance with them, was therefore the first measure pursued by this congregational faction, after they found themselves freed from the embarrassments and dangers of Indian and French incursions.

This measure was accelerated by the resolution of the House of Commons to lay certain duties in America on stamped paper, in the year 1763. It was necessary for them to become able to give effectual opposition to the intention of Parliament, if it should pass into an Act. Dispersed over the Colonies, disunited among themselves, and disliked and suspected as they were by people of all other persuasions of religion, they despaired of success, while it depended

pended on their own strength. It was therefore recommended to all the Presbyterians in the Colonies southward of New England, to form themselves into one body. A measure so flattering to their vanity and love of power was adopted without hesitation.

In the beginning of the year 1764, a convention of the ministers and elders of the presbyterian congregations in Philadelphia wrote a circular letter to all the presbyterian congregations in Pennsylvania, and with it inclosed the proposed articles of union. The reasons assigned in them are so novel, so futile, and absurd, and the design of exciting that very rebellion, of which the congregationalists of New England, and the Presbyterians in all the other Colonies are at this moment the only support, is so clearly demonstrated, that I shall make no apology for giving them to the Reader at full length, without any comment.

The Circular Letter and Articles of "some Gentlemen of the Presbyterian Denomination," in the Province of Pennsylvania.

"SIR, Philadelphia, March 24, 1764.

"The want of union and harmony among those of the presbyterian denomination has been long observed, and greatly lamented by every public-spirited person of our society. Notwithstanding we are so numerous in the province of Pennsylvania, we are considered as nobody, or a body of very little weight and consequence, so that any encroachments upon our essential and charter privileges may be

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“ made by evil-minded persons, who think
 “ that they have little to fear from *any opposi-*
 “ *tion* that can be made to their measures by
 “ us. Nay, some denominations openly insult
 “ us as acting without plan or design, quarrel-
 “ ling with one another, and seldom uniting to-
 “ gether, even to promote the most salutary
 “ purposes: And hence they take occasion to
 “ misrepresent and asperse the whole body
 “ of Presbyterians, on the account of the
 “ indiscreet conduct of individuals belonging
 “ to us. It is greatly to be wished that we
 “ could *devise some plan* that would cut off even
 “ the least grounds for such aspersions, that
 “ would enable us to prevent the bad conduct
 “ of our members, and that would have a ten-
 “ dency *to unite us more closely together*; so that,
 “ *when there may be a necessity to act as a body*,
 “ we may be able to do it whenever we may
 “ be called *to defend our civil or religious liberties*
 “ *and privileges*, which we may enjoy, or to
 “ obtain any of *which we may be abridged*.

“ A number of gentlemen in this city, in
 “ conjunction *with the clergymen* of our deno-
 “ mination here, have thought that the enclosed
 “ Plan may be subservient to this *desirable pur-*
 “ *pose*, if it be heartily adopted and prosecuted
 “ by our brethren in this province, and three
 “ lower counties; and in this view we beg
 “ leave to recommend it to you. It cannot
 “ possibly do any hurt to us, and it will beyond
 “ doubt make us a more *respectable body*. We
 “ therefore cannot but promise ourselves your
 “ hearty concurrence from your known public
 “ spirit, and desire to assist any thing that may
 “ have

“ have a tendency to promote the *union and*
“ *welfare of society*, and the general good of the
“ *community, to which we belong.*
“ We are your's, &c.”

The PLAN or ARTICLES.

“ Some gentlemen of the presbyterian deno-
“ mination, having seriously considered the ne-
“ cessity of *a more close union among ourselves*, in
“ order to enable us to act *as a body with una-*
“ *nimity and harmony*, &c. have unanimously
“ adopted the following plan, viz.

“ 1st, That a few gentlemen in the city of
“ Philadelphia, with the ministers of the pres-
“ byterian denomination there, be chosen to
“ correspond with their friends in different
“ parts, to *give and receive advices, and to con-*
“ *sult what things may have a tendency to promote*
“ *our union and welfare, either as a body, or, as*
“ we are connected together in particular con-
“ gregations, as far as it will consist with our
“ duty to the best of Kings, and our subjection
“ to the laws of Government.

“ 2d, That a number of the most prudent
“ and public-spirited persons in each district in
“ the province, and three lower counties, be
“ chosen, *with the ministers* in said districts, to
“ correspond in like manner with one another,
“ and with the gentlemen appointed for this
“ purpose in Philadelphia; or,

“ 3d, That the same be done in each con-
“ gregation or district where there is no mi-
“ nister; a neighbouring minister meeting
“ with

“ with them as oft as is convenient and necessary.

“ 4th, That a person shall be appointed in each committee thus formed, who shall sign a letter in the name of the committee, and to whom letters shall be directed, who shall call the committee together, and communicate to them what advice is received, that they may consult together what is best to be done.

“ 5th, That one or more members be sent by the committee in each county or district, yearly or half-yearly, to a *general meeting of the whole body*, to consult together what is necessary for the advantage of the body, and to give their advice in any affairs that relate to particular congregations; and that one stated meeting of said delegates be on the last Tuesday of August yearly.

“ 6th, That the place of the general meeting be at Philadelphia or Lancaster, on the last Tuesday of August, 1764.

“ 7th, That each committee transmit to the committee in Philadelphia, their names and numbers, with what alterations may at any time be made in them.

“ 8th, That the committee in town consist of ministers of the presbyterian denomination in this city, and Mr. Treat, together with

Mess. Samuel Smith	Mess. T. Montgomery
Alex. Huston	Andrew Hodge
George Brian	John Redman
John Allen	Jed. Snowden
William Allison	Isaac Snowden
H. Williamson	Robert Harris
	Mess.

Mess. Thomas Smith	Mess. Wm. Humphrys
Sam. Purviance	John Wallace
John Mease	J. Macpherson
H. M'Cullough	John Bayard
P. Chevalier, jun.	John Wikoff
Isaac Smith	William Rust
Charles Petit	S. Purviance, jun.
William Henry	

In consequence of this letter, an union of all the presbyterian congregations immediately took place in Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties. A like confederacy was established in all the southern Provinces, in pursuance of similar letters wrote by their respective conventions. Those letters were long buried in studied secrecy. Their design was not sufficiently matured, and therefore not proper for publication. Men of sense and foresight were alarmed at so formidable a confederacy, without knowing the ultimate extent of their views; however, at length, in the year 1769, the letters from the conventions of Philadelphia and New-York were obtained and published.

An union of presbyterian force being thus established in each Province, these projectors then took "*salutary steps*" (as they are called in a letter from one of the committee at Philadelphia to his friend) to get the whole "presbyterian interest on the *Continent* more firmly united." These steps ended in the establishment of an annual Synod at Philadelphia. Here all the presbyterian congregations in the Colonies are represented by their respective ministers and elders. In this synod all their general affairs, political

political as well as religious, are debated and decided. From hence their orders and decrees are issued throughout America; and to them as ready and implicit obedience is paid as is due to the authority of any sovereign power whatever.

But they did not stop here: the principal matter recommended by the faction in New England, was an union of the *congregational and presbyterian interest* throughout the Colonies. To effect this, a negotiation took place, which ended in the appointment of a standing committee of correspondence, with powers to communicate and consult, on all occasions, with a like committee appointed by the congregational churches in New England. Thus the Presbyterians in the southern Colonies, who, while unconnected in their several congregations, were of little significance, were raised into weight and consequence; and a dangerous combination of men, whose principles of religion and polity were equally averse to those of the established Church and Government, was formed.

United in this manner throughout the Colonies, these republican sectaries were prepared to oppose the Stamp Act, before the time of its commencement; and yet sensible of their own inability without the aid of others, no arts or pains were left unessayed to make converts of the rest of the people; but all their industry was attended with little success. The members of the Church of England, Methodists, Quakers, Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, and other dissenters, were in general averse to every measure

sure which tended to violence. Some few of them were, by various arts and partial interest, prevailed on to unite with them; and these were either lawyers or merchants, who thought their professional business would be affected by the act, or the bankrupt planters, who were overwhelmed in debt to their British factors. But the republicans, pre-determined in their measures, were unanimous. It was these men who excited the mobs, and led them to destroy the stamped paper; who compelled the collectors of the duties to resign their offices, and to pledge their faith that they would not execute them; and it was these men who promoted, and for a time enforced, the non-importation agreement; and by their personal applications, threats, insults, and inflammatory publications and petitions, led the assemblies to deny the authority of Parliament to tax the Colonies, in their several remonstrances.

The effect of these measures was a repeal of the act. This repeal had its consequences, but they were the reverse of those expected by Government. It had been better for both countries that it never had passed, or never been repealed. The authority of Parliament had been denied, the political incompetency of the Colonies to grant their reasonable proportion of aids had been experienced. At the same time the duty and ability of the Colonies to contribute towards the national defence was acknowledged, the Minister, whose ambition and folly had obtained the repeal, had condescended to give the most disgraceful assurances, that the right in Parliament to tax the Colonies, affirmed by the Declaratory

claratory Act, would never be exercised. All these were so many circumstances, which could not fail to elate the seditious republicans, and to convince them if they persevered, they would ultimately succeed in their design.

Had Government, instead of repealing the act, and passing the Declaratory Bill, suffered the act to remain in force until they had digested and adopted the measure, which has been since proposed for removing the great objection upon which the opposition was founded, it would have prevented the rebellion at least for the present. The plausible pretext of seeking a redress from unconstitutional taxation, by which many were deluded into the opposition, could not have been made; the people in general would have been satisfied, and the republican faction must have surceased, or suspended their opposition to Government; but the minister of that day was not the minister of wisdom, suppose it were possible to believe him the minister of integrity.

Encouraged by this repeal, the factions in America were not idle. They daily expected, notwithstanding ministerial assurances, that some other act would pass for compelling the Colonies to support the expence of their own Governments, and to contribute to the national safety. They expected it, because it was just; but determined not to submit to it, they were constantly active in forming the minds of the people for opposition. No art, no fraud, no falsehood, by which they could be misled, was omitted; their fears and their ambition were alternately worked upon. In the New England papers the
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flattering idea that "*America would soon become a great empire,*" was repeatedly held out to the people. It was said that the *corner stone was already laid*; and a variety of artful arguments were used to lead the vanity of the people to that belief. Some publications denied the authority of Parliament over the Colonies in all cases whatever; others charged the British legislature with corruption, the Ministers with an insidious design to enslave America; and even the mildest of Sovereigns, *who never yet has violated the royal covenant with his people in any one instance*, did not escape their petulant reproaches.

While these things were transacting in America, the act for *laying duties on certain goods imported into the Colonies*, was passed in Britain. The faction who were thus on their watch, and determined to oppose not only every act for taxing the Colonies, but every one that should be made to bind them, instantly took the alarm.

There was another description of men whose interest was affected by it: these were the smuggling merchants in the sea-port towns, who in defiance of law and the most sacred of all obligations, an oath, had been long in the practice of importing tea from St. Eustatia and Holland. These men joined the republicans in their clamours against the act; but if their clamours were heard, they were disregarded by the people in general; who saw that the act was not founded in oppression, but on the contrary was greatly beneficial.

Encouraged by this disposition in the people, and the acquiescence of the colonial assemblies under the partial repeal of the act, the Parliament passed another to enable the East-India Company to export their teas to America. This act, I have before observed, was a favour to the people of America, who therefore, in general, did not oppose it; but it affected the interest of the smuggler yet more essentially than the Tea Act; and it was another instance of the exercise of parliamentary authority over the Colonies, which the republicans were determined, at all events, to oppose. The united faction of Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Smugglers, took the alarm, and renewed their exertions to create a general insurrection; but they did not succeed.

The people in general suspected the independent views of the republicans; they saw the interested motives of the smugglers, and they knew the regulations in the act were beneficial to themselves; they were therefore not to be moved. The faction now, giving over all hope of assistance from the country, resolved to prevent the landing of the tea; because if not landed it would not be bought, and could not be consumed; and if landed they knew, from the evident disposition of the people, that it would be impossible to prevent either the sale or consumption. For this reason, in all the seaport towns they again formed themselves into committees, and prepared to execute their design.

On the arrival of the tea, every fiction and phantom of oppression were held up to the view
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of the people, in all the towns where it was expected, in order to lead them into mobs for its destruction. It never has been a difficult matter in any country, and more especially in those where liberty prevails, to incite the ignorant and necessitous vulgar, by false pretences, to acts of violence. It has not been so in London; it was not so in America. Mobs were raised in every port where the tea arrived, and the landing was prevented in all, except Charles Town; and in Boston it was violently, and in defiance of law, destroyed.

Had that firmness, that intrepidity of spirit, which ever is the greatest ornament and support of public justice, and which ever was necessary to preserve the peace in a great empire, prevailed in the British Councils, an exemplary punishment would have been inflicted on every city and town where such open and rebellious opposition had been given to the supreme authority of the State. But this was not the case. The disunion in the great Councils of the State, and the factious opposition to Government, even at that early period, encouraging the rising sedition, smothered the ideas of public justice, and wrenched the sword from the hands of Government. No punishment was inflicted, nor was any reprehension given to those cities which had seditiously opposed the authority of Parliament by their obstructions to the landing of the tea; and even that which was imposed on the port of Boston could not be called a punishment, unless it be one to restore that which we have unlawfully and violently taken from another. This act, with that for altering the Massachusetts's

charter, which I have before taken notice of, were added to the list of American grievances.

While these mild measures, these temporary and inadequate expedients, were taking by Government to support the authority of the State, the factions on both sides of the Atlantic were not idle. The republicans in America had their spies, their friends, and their parties in Britain. From the time of the Stamp Act, and its disgraceful repeal, every measure was taken to unite them more firmly together; and this was no difficult task. Ingredients of the same quality will easily assimilate. The views of both were the same. The first had in prospect the independence of America—the second, the abolition of the principles of mixed monarchy in Britain: and both wished to establish their respective societies on democratical principles. To effect this union, the particular lords and commoners, through whose influence the repeal had been obtained, had received the most fulsome letters of adulation and thanks from the American demagogues, and had returned their answers, which plainly discovered they were pleased with their *new allies*. Letters of the same kind were written to the factious and republican corporations in Britain, which had signalled themselves in the American cause. The city of London was at their head. A correspondence was moreover settled with many other principal republicans in all parts of the kingdom, and even in Ireland.

These seditious combinations being thus united, have constantly acted in concert. They have, with assiduity unparalleled, and exertions incessant,

incessant, promoted each others designs. That in Great-Britain has constantly received all the inflammatory letters, resolves, and proceedings of the American town meetings, committees, conventions, and congresses, which were equally calculated to deceive and delude the people of both countries, and to lead them into rebellion. It has industriously published and transmitted those letters and resolves throughout the kingdom, with publications of its own equally inflammatory. It has, by harangues, paragraphs, and pamphlets (I wish speeches, even in the two houses of parliament, could be excepted), been the constant and firm support of every act of American sedition. And the greatest and most cautious man among them had the boldness to declare in a British senate, "that he
 " rejoiced that America had resisted."

On the other side, the American rebel committees have been favoured with the constant communications of the faction in Britain, whose seditious speeches in parliament, petitions, pamphlets, and publications, have been constantly transmitted and published in America to increase the sedition, and push that unhappy people into the present most unprovoked, groundless, and destructive rebellion. A collection of all these inflammatory pieces would fill a volume in folio. They have been, and are to be seen in the British and American papers and pamphlets; and they are transactions so recent, that they need not be particularly pointed out.

The Assemblies of the several Colonies, and the people in general, from the time of the partial repeal of the Tea Act, remained quiet and
 unmoved

unmoved by these seditious publications. The Assemblies (those of the Charter-Colonies excepted) were not to be influenced by party writings, and inflammatory pieces. They knew they were members of the British Government. They knew the necessity of a supreme legislative authority in every State; and they saw that Great Britain, unmoved at their former indiscreet petitions, denying the supreme authority of the State, was determined to support it. They knew their own incompetency to discharge with justice the first of all political duties, the granting of aids for the common safety of the empire. They also saw, that a Parliament in which they were not represented, in which no person and no property in America was represented; a parliament which had no constitutional means of knowing their wants, necessities, and circumstances, in order to regulate their conduct or to relieve their wants, was not so competent in reason, however it might be in law, to bind them. They saw the Colonies in the same situation with Wales, Durham, and Chester before their representation in Parliament; and therefore, like them, they wished for a more perfect union with the British State. They also saw that it was their duty to propose and petition for the measure which would relieve them from their perplexing situation. But they did not, nor could know each other's minds. They were thirteen disunited bodies, as incompetent to this measure as to that of granting their just proportion of the national aids, and the faction abroad added to their perplexities. In this doubtful state they remained
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until a circular letter sent to the Speakers of all the Assemblies was received by such as were sitting, from that source of sedition, a committee of correspondence appointed by the Assembly of the Massachusetts.

The measure proposed by this letter was a general non-importation and non-exportation between Great Britain and America, a measure which one would not suspect could possibly be recommended by any man in Great Britain; and yet we know, that it was not only recommended, but vindicated and supported by the whole tribe of pretended patriots. Many letters were written from Great Britain, recommending it. An extract from one of them, wrote even by a member of P——t, published in the Pennsylvania Gazette, is in a style so truly republican and rebellious, that I will give it to the Reader in its own words. “ I persuade myself
 “ your countrymen are not so contaminated
 “ with the effeminacy of this nation, not to see
 “ that this is the *important crisis* when they
 “ ought to make a *solemn, sullen, united, and*
 “ *invincible stand* against the *cruel, tyrannous,*
 “ and *ruinous system of policy* adopted and exercising by this legislature, against the rights and freedom of America; and let me add, that if the *deputies of the several Provinces,* when convened in Congress, do not, *one and all,* firmly resolve to establish, through every county and township in their respective Provinces, a solemn league and covenant, and under an *oath or affirmation* not to purchase or to use the manufactures of this country (save what are collected already within the
 “ Province),

“ Province), and if possible not to export any
 “ *provisions to the West India Islands*, and at the
 “ same time do not *religiously resolve to meet*
 “ *again in Congress once in every six months*, for
 “ the purpose of forming a suitable plan for
 “ securing American rights and freedom, *our*
 “ *children* will be irremediably deprived of that
 “ inheritance of liberty which *our* forefathers
 “ carefully and *piously* transmitted to us.”

The Assemblies, which were the constitutional
 representatives of the people of the Colonies,
 and which well knew the general sense of their
 constituents, saw the dangerous tendency of
 this measure, that it could not fail to irritate the
 mother country, and bring on the people they
 represented her just indignation and vengeance.
 And moreover, they knew that a measure of
 this kind could not be carried into execution,
 but by illegal conventions, committees, town-
 meetings, and their subservient mobs, which
 would soon put an end to all order, and destroy
 the authority of Government. They saw that
 this was the design and ultimate wish of the
 Bostonian faction and their British colleagues;
 and therefore such as had an opportunity, and
 even the committees of those who had not, re-
 commended the only measure which had the
 least probability of preventing it. They re-
 commended a Congress to be composed of dele-
 gates from the several assemblies, who knew
 that the people in general were not disaffected
 to the British Government, and that they wished
 to be more firmly united with it upon constitu-
 tional principles. From these convened in a
 general council, they hoped that some proposi-

tions would be made, which would terminate in a perfect accommodation and union between the two countries, and that the views of the republicans would be frustrated, which they dreaded yet more than what they thought was an unconstitutional power in parliament. And their hopes would have been answered, had the measure been carried into complete execution; that is, had the delegates in congress been appointed by the assemblies of the several colonies. But this was prevented by the injudicious conduct of some of the royal Governors, who, disapproving of the measure, did not give their assemblies an opportunity of appointing their delegates. This irritated even some of those who were friendly to Government, and it left to the republican faction the choice of men who thought as they thought, and would act as they wished. In the Colonies where the assemblies had an opportunity of meeting, they chose the delegates; where they had not, they were chosen by the illegal and factious conventions, committees, and town-meetings. Thus the Congress was of a motley complexion, partly loyalists, and partly republicans.

The Congress met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. They brought with them their appointments and instructions. The latter plainly discover the dispositions of the assemblies, and of the people who gave them, and demonstrate their aversion to every thing which might tend to a seditious or illegal opposition to Government. They strictly enjoined their delegates to “pursue *proper,*
K “ *prudent,*

“ *prudent, and lawful measures*, and to adopt a
 “ plan for obtaining a redress of American
 “ grievances, ascertaining American rights up-
 “ on the most solid and *constitutional* principles,
 “ and for establishing that union and harmony
 “ between Great Britain and the Colonies,
 “ *which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and*
 “ *happiness of both.*” Under these instructions,
 it was the general expectation that decent pe-
 titions would be presented to Parliament, ex-
 plicitly pointing out the measures by which its
 authority over the Colonies might be rendered
 more constitutional, and the grievances com-
 plained of might be redressed; because this was
 nothing more than the reasonable duty of sub-
 jects, and it was the sincere wish of the people.

Upon the meeting of Congress, two parties
 were immediately formed, with different views,
 and determined to act upon different principles.
 One intended candidly and clearly to define
 American rights, and explicitly and dutifully to
 petition for the remedy which would redress the
 grievances justly complained of—to form a
 more solid and constitutional union between the
 two countries, and to avoid every measure which
 tended to sedition, or acts of violent opposition.
 The other consisted of persons, whose design,
 from the beginning of their opposition to the
 Stamp Act, was to throw off all subordination
 and connexion with Great-Britain; who meant by
 every fiction, falsehood and fraud, to delude the
 people from their due allegiance, to throw the
 subsisting Governments into anarchy, to incite
 the ignorant and vulgar to arms, and with those
 arms to establish American Independence. The

One were men of loyal principles, and possessed the greatest fortunes in America; the other were congregational and presbyterian republicans, or men of bankrupt fortunes, overwhelmed in debt to the British merchants. The first suspected the designs of the last, and were therefore cautious; but as they meant to do nothing but what was reasonable and just, they were open and ingenuous. The second, fearing the opposition of the first, were secret and hypocritical, and left no art, no falsehood, no fraud untried to conceal their intentions. The loyalists rested, for the most part, on the defensive, and opposed, with success, every measure which tended to violent opposition. Motions were made, debated and rejected, and nothing was carried by either.

While the two parties in Congress remained thus during three weeks on an equal balance, the republicans were calling to their assistance the aid of their factions without. Continual expresses were employed between Philadelphia and Boston. These were under the management of Samuel Adams—a man, who though by no means remarkable for brilliant abilities, yet is equal to most men in popular intrigue, and the management of a faction. He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects. It was this man, who by his superior application, managed at once the faction in Congress at Philadelphia, and the factions in New England. Whatever these patriots in Congress wished to have done by their colleagues without, to induce General Gage, then at the

head of his Majesty's army at Boston, to give them a pretext for violent opposition, or to promote their measures in Congress, Mr. Adams advised and directed to be done; and when done, it was dispatched by express to Congress. By one of these expresses came the inflammatory resolves of the county of Suffolk, which contained a complete declaration of war against Great-Britain. By these resolves it is declared, "that no obedience is due to acts of Parliament affecting Boston:"

That "the justices of the superior courts of judicature, court of assize, &c. are unconstitutional officers, and that no regard ought to be paid to them by the people:"

That "the county will support and bear harmless all sheriffs and their deputies, constables, jurors and other officers, who shall refuse to carry into execution the orders of the said courts:"

That "the collectors of taxes, constables and other officers, retain in their hands all public monies, and not make any payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer:"

And that "the persons who had accepted seats at the council-board, by virtue of a mandamus from the King, should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country."

They advise the people "to elect the officers of militia, and to use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and for that purpose to appear under arms once in every week:"

And to carry these and other measures into execution; among many other things equally treasonable,

treasonable, they recommend it to the several towns to "chuse a Provincial Congress."

Upon these resolves being read, a motion was made that the Congress should give them their sanction. Long and warm debates ensued between the parties. At this time the republican faction in Congress had provided a mob, ready to execute their secret orders. The cruel practice of tarring and feathering had been long since introduced. This lessened the firmness of some of the loyalists; the vote was put and carried. Two of the dissenting members presumed to offer their protest against it in writing, which was negatived. They next insisted that the tender of their protest and its negative should be entered on the minutes; this was also rejected.

By this treasonable vote the foundation of military resistance throughout America was effectually laid. The example was now set by the people of Suffolk, and the measure was approved of by those who called themselves *the representatives of all America*. The loyal party, although they knew a great majority of the colonists were averse to the measure, perceived the improbability of stemming the torrent. They had no authority, no means in their own power to resist it; they saw those who held the powers of Government inactive spectators, and either shrinking from their duty, or uniting in the measures of sedition; they saw the flame of rebellion spreading with more rapidity in a province under the eye of his Majesty's army than in any other; and that no effectual measures were taking by Government in Britain to suppress

press it ; and yet, as a petition to his Majesty had been ordered to be brought in, they resolved to continue their exertions. They hoped to prevail in stating the rights of America on just and constitutional principles ; in proposing a plan for uniting the two countries on those principles, and in a clear, definitive and decent prayer, to ask for what a majority of the colonies wished to obtain ; and as they had no reason to doubt the success of this measure in a British Parliament, they further hoped, that it would stop the effusion of blood and the ruin of their country.

With this view, as well as to probe the ultimate design of the republicans, and to know with certainty whether any proposal, short of the absolute independence of the Colonies, would satisfy them, a plan of union was drawn by a member of the loyal party, and approved by the rest. It was so formed as to leave no room for any reasonable objection on the part of the republicans, if they meant to be united to Great Britain on any grounds whatever. It included a restoration of all their rights, and a redress of all their grievances, on constitutional principles ; and it accorded with all the instructions given to them as members of Congress.

Introductory to his motion which led to this plan, the author of it made, in substance, the following speech, which is taken from his short notes : “ He told Congress that he came with
 “ instructions to propose some mode, by which
 “ the harmony between Great Britain and the
 “ Colonies might be restored on constitutional
 “ principles: that this appeared to be the
 “ genuine

“ genuine sense of all the instructions brought
 “ into Congress by the Delegates of the several
 “ Colonies. He had long waited with great
 “ patience under an expectation of hearing some
 “ proposition which should tend to that salutary
 “ and important purpose; but, to his great
 “ mortification and distress, a month had been
 “ spent in fruitless debates on equivocal and
 “ indecisive propositions, which tended to in-
 “ flame rather than reconcile—to produce war
 “ instead of peace between the two countries.
 “ In this disagreeable situation of things he
 “ thought it his incumbent duty to speak
 “ plainly, and to give his sentiments without
 “ the least reserve.

“ There are,” says he, “ two propositions
 “ before the Congress, for restoring the wished-
 “ for harmony: one, that Parliament should
 “ be requested to place the Colonies in the state
 “ they were in in the year 1763; the other,
 “ that a non-exportation and non-importation
 “ agreement should be adopted. I will con-
 “ sider these propositions, and venture to reject
 “ them both; the first, as indecisive, tending to
 “ mislead both countries, and to lay a founda-
 “ tion for further discontent and quarrel; the
 “ other, as illegal, and ruinous to America.

“ The first proposition is indecisive, because
 “ it points out no ground of complaint—asks
 “ for a restoration of no right, settles no prin-
 “ ciple, and proposes no plan for accommo-
 “ dating the dispute. There is no statute which
 “ has been passed to tax or bind the Colonies
 “ since the year 1763, which was not founded
 “ on precedents and statutes of a similar nature
 “ before

“ before that period; and therefore the pro-
 “ position, while it expressly denies the right
 “ of Parliament, confesses it by the strongest
 “ implication. In short, it is nugatory, and
 “ without meaning; and however it may serve,
 “ when rejected by Parliament, as it certainly
 “ will be, to form a charge of injustice upon,
 “ and to deceive and inflame the minds of the
 “ people hereafter, it cannot possibly answer any
 “ other purpose.

“ The second proposition is undutiful and
 “ illegal: it is an insult on the supreme autho-
 “ rity of the State; it cannot fail to draw on the
 “ Colonies the united resentment of the Mother
 “ Country. If we will not trade with Great
 “ Britain, she will not suffer us to trade at all.
 “ Our ports will be blocked up by British men
 “ of war, and troops will be sent to reduce us
 “ to reason and obedience. A total and sudden
 “ stagnation of commerce is what no country
 “ can bear: it must bring ruin on the Colonies:
 “ the produce of labour must perish on their
 “ hands, and not only the progress of industry
 “ be stopped, but industry and labour will
 “ cease, and the country itself be thrown
 “ into anarchy and tumult. I must therefore
 “ reject both the propositions; the first as in-
 “ decisive, and the other as inadmissible upon
 “ any principle of prudence or policy.

“ If we sincerely mean to accommodate the
 “ difference between the two countries, and to
 “ establish their union on more firm and con-
 “ stitutional principles, we must take into con-
 “ sideration a number of facts which led the
 “ Parliament to pass the acts complained of,
 “ since

“ since the year 1763, and the real state of the
 “ Colonies. A clear and perfect knowledge of
 “ these matters only can lead us to the ground
 “ of substantial redress and permanent har-
 “ mony. I will therefore call your recollection
 “ to the dangerous situation of the Colonies
 “ from the intrigues of France, and the incur-
 “ sions of the Canadians and their Indian allies,
 “ at the commencement of the last war. None
 “ of us can be ignorant of the just sense they
 “ then entertained of that danger, and of their
 “ incapacity to defend themselves against it,
 “ nor of the supplications made to the Parent
 “ State for its assistance, nor of the cheerfulness
 “ with which Great Britain sent over her fleets
 “ and armies for their protection, of the millions
 “ she expended in that protection, and of the
 “ happy consequences which attended it.

“ In this state of the Colonies, it was not
 “ unreasonable to expect that Parliament would
 “ have levied a tax on them proportionate to
 “ their wealth, and the sums raised in Great
 “ Britain. Her ancient right, so often exer-
 “ cised, and never controverted, enabled her,
 “ and the occasion invited her, to do it. And
 “ yet, not knowing their wealth, a generous
 “ tenderness arising from the fear of doing
 “ them injustice, induced Parliament to for-
 “ bear to levy aids upon them—It left the
 “ Colonies to do justice to themselves and to
 “ the nation. And moreover, in order to
 “ allure them to a discharge of their duty, it
 “ offered to reimburse those Colonies which
 “ should generously grant the aids that were
 “ necessary to their own safety. But what was

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“ the

“ the conduct of the Colonies on this occasion,
 “ in which their own existence was immediately
 “ concerned? However painful it may be for
 “ me to repeat, or you to hear, I must remind
 “ you of it. You all know there were Colo-
 “ nies which at some times granted liberal aids,
 “ and at others nothing; other Colonies gave
 “ nothing during the war; none gave equitably
 “ in proportion to their wealth, and all that
 “ did give were actuated by partial and self-
 “ interested motives, and gave only in proportion
 “ to the approach or remoteness of the danger.
 “ These delinquencies were occasioned by the
 “ want of the exercise of some supreme power
 “ to ascertain, with equity, their proportions of
 “ aids, and to over-rule the particular passions,
 “ prejudices, and interests, of the several
 “ Colonies.

“ To remedy these mischiefs, Parliament
 “ was naturally led to exercise the power which
 “ had been, by its predecessors, so often exer-
 “ cised over the Colonies, and to pass the
 “ Stamp Act. Against this act the Colonies
 “ petitioned Parliament, and denied its autho-
 “ rity. Instead of proposing some remedy, by
 “ which that authority should be rendered
 “ more equitable and more constitutional over
 “ the Colonies, the petitions rested in a decla-
 “ ration that the Colonies could not be repre-
 “ sented in that body. This justly alarmed the
 “ British Senate. It was thought and called by
 “ the ablest men and Britain, a clear and ex-
 “ plicit declaration of American Independence,
 “ and compelled the Parliament to pass the
 “ Declaratory Act, in order to save its ancient
 “ and

“ and incontrovertible right of supremacy over
 “ all the parts of the empire. By this inju-
 “ dicious step the cause of our complaints
 “ became fixed, and instead of obtaining a
 “ constitutional reformation of the authority of
 “ Parliament over the Colonies, it brought on
 “ an explicit declaration of a right in Parlia-
 “ ment to exercise absolute and unparticipated
 “ power over them. Nothing now can be
 “ wanting to convince us, that the Assemblies
 “ have pursued measures which have produced
 “ no relief, and answered no purpose but a bad
 “ one. I therefore hope that the collected
 “ wisdom of Congress will perceive and avoid
 “ former mistakes; that they will candidly and
 “ thoroughly examine the real merits of our
 “ dispute with the Mother Country, and take
 “ such ground as shall firmly unite us under
 “ one system of polity, and make us one
 “ people.

“ In order to establish those principles, upon
 “ which alone American relief ought, in reason
 “ and policy, to be founded, I will take a
 “ brief view of the arguments on both sides of
 “ the great question between the two countries—
 “ a question in its magnitude and importance
 “ exceeded by none that has been ever agitated
 “ in the councils of any nation. The advo-
 “ cates for the supremacy of Parliament over
 “ the Colonies contend, that there must be one
 “ supreme legislative head in every civil society,
 “ whose authority must extend to the regulation
 “ and final decision of every matter susceptible
 “ of human direction; and that every member
 “ of the society, whether political, official, or
 “ individual,

“ individual, must be subordinate to its supreme
 “ will, signified in its laws: that this supre-
 “ macy and subordination are essential in the
 “ constitution of all States, whatever may be
 “ their forms; that no society ever did, or
 “ could exist, without it; and that these truths
 “ are solidly established in the practice of all
 “ Governments, and confirmed by the concurrent
 “ authority of all writers on the subject of
 “ civil society.

“ These advocates also assert, what we cannot
 “ deny—That the discovery of the Colonies
 “ was made under a commission granted by the
 “ supreme authority of the British State,
 “ that they have been settled under that au-
 “ thority, and therefore are truly the pro-
 “ perty of that State. Parliamentary jurisdic-
 “ tion has been constantly exercised over them
 “ from their first settlement; its executive
 “ authority has ever run through all their in-
 “ ferior political systems: the Colonists have
 “ ever sworn allegiance to the British State, and
 “ have been considered, both by the State and
 “ by themselves, as subjects of the British Go-
 “ vernment. Protection and allegiance are reci-
 “ procal duties; the one cannot exist without the
 “ other. The Colonies cannot claim the pro-
 “ tection of Britain upon any principle of reason
 “ or law, while they deny its supreme autho-
 “ rity. Upon this ground the authority of
 “ Parliament stands too firm to be shaken by
 “ any arguments whatever; and therefore to
 “ deny that authority, and at the same time to
 “ declare their incapacity to be represented,
 “ amounts

“ amounts to a full and explicit declaration of
 “ independence.

“ In regard to the political state of the Co-
 “ lonies, you must know that they are so many
 “ inferior societies, disunited and unconnected
 “ in polity. That while they deny the authority
 “ of Parliament, they are, in respect to each
 “ other, in a perfect state of nature, destitute
 “ of any supreme direction or decision what-
 “ ever, and incompetent to the grant of na-
 “ tional aids, or any other general measure
 “ whatever, even to the settlement of differences
 “ among themselves. This they have repeatedly
 “ acknowledged, and particularly by their
 “ delegates in Congress in the beginning of the
 “ last war; and the aids granted by them since
 “ that period, for their own protection, are a
 “ proof of the truth of that acknowledg-
 “ ment.

“ You also know that the seeds of discord
 “ are plentifully sowed in the constitution of
 “ the Colonies; that they are already grown to
 “ maturity, and have more than once broke
 “ out into open hostilities. They are at this
 “ moment only suppressed by the authority of
 “ the Parent State; and should that authority
 “ be weakened or annulled, many subjects of
 “ unsettled disputes, and which, in that case,
 “ can only be settled by an appeal to the sword,
 “ must involve us in all the horrors of civil
 “ war. You will now consider whether you
 “ wish to be destitute of the protection of Great
 “ Britain, or to see a renewal of the claims of
 “ France upon America; or to remain in our
 “ present disunited state, the weak exposed to
 “ the

“ the force of the strong. I am sure no honest man
 “ can entertain wishes so ruinous to his country.

“ Having thus briefly stated the arguments
 “ in favour of parliamentary authority, and
 “ considered the state of the Colonies, I am
 “ free to confess that the exercise of that
 “ authority is not perfectly constitutional in
 “ respect to the Colonies. We know that the
 “ whole landed interest of Britain is represented
 “ in that body, while neither the land nor the
 “ people of America hold the least participation
 “ in the legislative authority of the State. Re-
 “ presentation, or a participation in the supreme
 “ councils of the State, is the great prin-
 “ ciple upon which the freedom of the British
 “ Government is established and secured. I
 “ also acknowledge, that that territory whose
 “ people have no enjoyment of this privilege,
 “ are subject to an authority unrestrained and
 “ absolute; and if the liberty of the subject
 “ were not essentially concerned in it, I should
 “ reject a distinction so odious between mem-
 “ bers of the same state, so long as it shall be
 “ continued. I wish to see it exploded, and
 “ the right to participate in the supreme
 “ councils of the State extended, in some form,
 “ not only to America, but to all the British
 “ dominions; otherwise I fear that profound
 “ and excellent fabrick of civil polity will, ere
 “ long, crumble to pieces.

“ The case of the Colonies is not a new one.
 “ It was formerly the very situation of Wales,
 “ Durham, and Chester.

“ As to the tax, it is neither unjust nor op-
 “ pressive, it being rather a relief than a bur-
 “ then;

“ then; but it is want of constitutional principle
 “ in the authority that passed it, which is the
 “ ground for complaint. This, and this only,
 “ is the source of American grievances. Here,
 “ and here only, is the defect; and if this defect
 “ were removed, a foundation would be laid
 “ for the relief of every American complaint;
 “ the obnoxious statutes would of course be
 “ repealed, and others would be made, with
 “ the assent of the Colonies, to answer the same
 “ and better purposes; the mischiefs arising
 “ from the disunion of the Colonies would be
 “ removed; their freedom would be established,
 “ and their subordination fixed on solid constitutional principles.

“ Desirous as I am to promote the freedom
 “ of the Colonies, and to prevent the mischiefs
 “ which will attend a military contest with Great
 “ Britain, I must intreat you to desert the
 “ measures which have been so injudiciously
 “ and ineffectually pursued by antecedent Assemblies. Let us thoroughly investigate the
 “ subject matter in dispute, and endeavour to
 “ find from that investigation the means of
 “ perfect and permanent redress. In whatever
 “ we do, let us be particular and explicit, and
 “ not wander in general allegations. These
 “ will lead us to no point, nor can produce any
 “ relief; they are besides dishonourable and
 “ insidious. I would therefore acknowledge
 “ the necessity of the supreme authority of
 “ Parliament over the Colonies, because it is a
 “ proposition which we cannot deny without
 “ manifest contradiction, while we confess that
 “ we are subjects of the British Government;
 “ and

“ and if we do not approve of a representation
 “ in Parliament, let us ask for a participation
 “ in the freedom and power of the English
 “ constitution in some other mode of incor-
 “ poration; for I am convinced, by long
 “ attention to the subject, that let us deliberate,
 “ and try what other expedients we may, we
 “ shall find none that can give to the Colonies
 “ substantial freedom, but some such incorpo-
 “ ration. I therefore beseech you, by the
 “ respect you are bound to pay to the instruc-
 “ tions of your constituents, by the regard you
 “ have for the honour and safety of your
 “ country, and as you wish to avoid a war with
 “ Great Britain, which must terminate, at all
 “ events, in the ruin of America, not to rely on
 “ a denial of the authority of Parliament, a
 “ refusal to be represented, and on a non-
 “ importation agreement; because whatever
 “ protestations, in that case, may be made to
 “ the contrary, it will prove to the world, that
 “ we intend to throw off our allegiance to the
 “ State, and to involve the two countries in all
 “ the horrors of a civil war.

“ With a view to promote the measure I
 “ have so earnestly recommended, I have pre-
 “ pared the draught of a plan for uniting Ame-
 “ rica more intimately, in constitutional polity,
 “ with Great Britain. It contains the great
 “ outlines or principles only, and will require
 “ many additions in case those should be ap-
 “ proved. I am certain, when dispassionately
 “ considered, it will be found to be the most per-
 “ fect union in power and liberty with the
 “ Parent State, next to a representation in
 “ Parliament,

“ Parliament, and I trust it will be approved
 “ of by both countries. In forming it, I have
 “ been particularly attentive to the rights of
 “ both; and I am confident that no American,
 “ who wishes to continue a subject of the British
 “ State, which is what we all uniformly profess,
 “ can offer any reasonable objection against it.

“ I shall not enter into a further explanation
 “ of its principles, but shall reserve my sen-
 “ timents until the second reading, with which
 “ I hope it will be favoured.”

The introductory motion being seconded, the Plan was presented and read. Warm and long debates immediately ensued on the question, Whether it should be entered in the proceedings of Congress, or be referred to further consideration. All the men of property, and most of the ablest speakers, supported the motion, while the republican party strenuously opposed it.

The question was at length carried by a majority of one Colony.

I shall not present the reader with the Plan. It has been laid before the House of Commons, and published in Mr. Galloway's Examination. It will suffice here to observe, that it proposed an American branch of the British legislature to be established in America, and incorporated with the Parliament for the purposes of American taxation, and other general regulations. In this branch every Colony would have been represented more perfectly than the people of Great Britain are in Parliament; and no law to bind America could be made without her consent, given by her representatives; and yet the re-

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publican faction, having obtained a majority in Congress by their arts, and the assistance of their mobs, rejected it without suffering it to be discussed, contrary to their own positive rule; and ordered it to be expunged from their minutes, to prevent its publication.

I have dwelt more particularly on the conduct of the Congress relative to this plan, because their denial of the authority of Parliament, their refusal to be represented in it, and their rejecting a proposition which would have given the Colonists a perfect representation in America; a representation by far more popular and perfect than that in Great Britain, are so many concurrent and incontestible proofs which must carry conviction to every candid breast, that they have, from the beginning, aimed at nothing short of absolute independence.

It has been the constant theme of the factions on both sides of the Atlantic, that at the conclusion of the last war a "plan for enslaving" the Colonies was concerted, and has ever "since been pertinaciously carrying into execution, by the present administration." It has been echoed from one country to another a thousand times. It has been refuted again and again, and rests now as it did at first, having nothing but the boldness and insolence of rebellion to support it: for the truth is, that "at the conclusion of the last war," the New England demagogues, educated under their democratical charter, in principles inimical to a mixed monarchy, found themselves, by the cession of Canada to Great Britain, relieved from the burthens and embarrassments arising from their

their continual wars with the Canadians and Indians. They thought that the Colonies thus relieved, and now grown up to considerable strength, no longer stood in need of the protection of Great Britain; that the time was approaching when they might carry into execution their long meditated design of establishing their own religion and popular governments in America.

A variety of facts and transactions might be adduced to demonstrate this truth. Prior to this æra, they had ever recognised the jurisdiction of Parliament. Statutes were made for regulating their trade, levying taxes, restraining their manufactures, and directing their internal police; to all which they submitted without murmur or complaint. But immediately subsequent to this period, their doctrine was changed, and a new system of conduct was adopted. It was in the beginning of the year 1764, before the Stamp Act was thought of, and before they pretend that they had any grievances to complain of, that they began their unlawful combinations, "to defend (as they expressly declare) their civil and religious liberties." It was in the same year that they resolved to unite all the presbyterian churches throughout America, before that time unconnected with each other, into one body or synod; and to combine that synod with the great committee at Boston, by standing committees, appointed to correspond and consult with each other. It was at this time they began to hold out to the people the novel, but alluring idea, of American independence. And it was at this time

they declared, that the *corner stones* (meaning the cession of Canada, and the establishment of their union) were laid; and that America would soon rise to a *great independent empire*. This declaration was followed by many publications tending to alienate the affections of the people from the Mother Country, and to prepare them, as the Congress expressed it, "for future events." And it was in the same year, for the first time, that they laid the foundation for quarrel, by a denial of the supreme authority of Great Britain.

In the year 1764, the Stamp Act was passed. It passed without one disapproving voice. The men in the present opposition to Government had given it their approbation. They had not then formed a connection with rebellion, nor had they compared their notes with the American republicans; but as soon as the rebels in America took the ground of opposition, the two factions instantly embraced, and the same men who had in 1764 assented to the act, in 1766 became the most violent opposers of it, and of every other subsequent act which has passed for the support of the supreme authority of their own country over its Colonies.

It may be both amusing and instructive to the reader, and not foreign to my purpose, to lay before him a copy of General Conway's excellent letter to the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, in 1775. Though the General wrote officially, being one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, yet if he was governed by any principles of honour or honesty, his own sentiments must have corresponded with the letter.

“ It

“ It is with the greatest concern (says he),
 “ his Majesty learns the disturbances which
 “ have lately arisen in your Province, the general
 “ confusion that seems to reign there, and
 “ the total languor and want of energy in your
 “ Government to exert itself with any dignity
 “ or efficacy, for the suppression of tumults
 “ which seem to strike at the very *being of all*
 “ *authority and subordination amongst you.*

“ Nothing can certainly exceed the ill-advised
 “ and intemperate conduct held by a party in
 “ your Province, which can in no way contribute
 “ to the removal of any real grievance
 “ they might labour under, but may tend to
 “ impede and obstruct the exertion of his Majesty’s
 “ benevolent attention to the ease and
 “ comfort, as well as to the welfare of all his
 “ people.

“ It is hoped and expected, that this want
 “ of confidence in the justice and tenderness of
 “ the Mother Country, and this open resistance
 “ to its authority, can only have found place
 “ among the lower and more ignorant of the
 “ people: the better and wiser part of the
 “ Colonies will know, that decency and submission
 “ may prevail, not only to redress
 “ grievances, but to obtain grace and favour,
 “ while the *outrage of a public violence can expect*
 “ *nothing but severity and chastisement.*

“ These sentiments you and all his Majesty’s
 “ servants, from a sense of your duty to, and
 “ love of your country, will endeavour to excite
 “ and encourage; you will, in a particular
 “ manner, call upon them, not to render their
 “ case desperate. You will in the strongest
 “ colours

“ colours represent to them, the dreadful consequences that must inevitably attend the forcible and violent resistance to acts of the British Parliament, and the scene of misery and destruction to both countries inseparable from such a conduct.

“ For however unwillingly his Majesty may consent to the exertion of such powers as may endanger the safety of a single subject; yet can he not permit his own dignity and the authority of the British legislature to be trampled on by force and violence, and in avowed contempt of all order, duty and decorum.

“ If the subject is aggrieved, he knows in what manner legally and constitutionally to apply for relief; but it is not suitable either to the safety or dignity of the British empire, that any individuals, under the pretence of redressing grievances, should presume to violate the public peace.”

Such were the sentiments of Mr. Conway, Secretary of State. What has been his conduct as member of Parliament, and how far it has corresponded with those sentiments since he has united with Opposition, and with them become the advocate of the Americans, his and their speeches in the great councils of the State have fully demonstrated.

In this opposition, it is remarkable how much they have been embarrassed to find arguments, even plausible, to support themselves. They have been led to make distinctions the most absurd and ridiculous—distinctions which are to be found in no book, nor in the constitution of any Government, and which they themselves have either forgot, or are now ashamed any longer to insist

on. Not daring to deny the supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, they have contended, there is a distinction between the rights of legislation and taxation—between the right to impose internal and external taxes—and taxes laid for the regulation of trade, and those for the purpose of revenue; and that Parliament was competent to the first, but not to the second. Thus endeavouring, by their sophistry, to pare away, or split into pieces, the supreme authority of the State, and to rob it of the most important of its rights, by which only it can command the reasonable contributions of all its subjects when necessary to the national defence.

Such are the facts, upon which I shall appeal to the reader's decision, whether there is any evidence of a design in Government, since the conclusion of the last war, to enslave the Colonies; or whether there are not the strongest proofs that human conduct can exhibit, that from that period there has existed a settled design in the republican Colonists to throw off their allegiance to the State, and in their British colleagues to encourage and support them in their attempt.

Many other facts might be adduced in support of the same truths; but I will not dwell upon matters which are sufficiently proved, and which perhaps some men may think a digression. I will therefore dismiss the British, and pass to the American faction, which I left after their rejection of the only proposal which was made tending to an accommodation of the dispute between the two countries.

tries. They next proceeded to settle their Bill of Rights. In this bill, were there no other proof of their design to establish independence, we should find that which is abundantly sufficient. Their fourth resolve declares, that “as
 “ the English Colonists *are not* represented,
 “ and from their local circumstances, *cannot*
 “ properly be represented in the British Parlia-
 “ ment, they are intitled to a FREE AND EX-
 “ CLUSIVE *power of legislation* in their several
 “ provincial legislatures in all cases of *taxation*
 “ and *internal polity*, subject only to the negative
 “ of their sovereign.” Now no words can convey a more explicit declaration of colonial independence on parliamentary authority; for if the Colonies are not, and will not be represented, and moreover have a *free* and exclusive power of legislation in all cases of *taxation and internal polity*, the authority of the British legislature is perfectly excluded; because it can make no law which must not come within the description of this resolve, not even an act to regulate their trade; for that must be executed by officers within the Colonies, and of course must affect their *internal polity*. It cannot even repeal a colonial law, however repugnant to the laws of England, or injurious to the interest of the other parts of the empire.

If so explicit a declaration can require any thing to confirm its meaning, we shall find it in the following words of the same resolve. “But
 “ from the necessity of the case, and a regard
 “ to the mutual interest of both countries” (not from any constitutional right of Parliament, for this is denied in the preceding part of the resolve),

“ resolve) we consent to the operations of” (not to the right of making) “ such acts of the “ British Parliament as are” (not to such as *shall be*) “ *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of “ our external commerce, for the purpose of “ securing the commercial advantages of the “ whole empire to the Mother Country, and the “ commercial benefits of its respective members.” Thus did these men assume a right to declare all the laws of trade void in respect to America, to judge of the propriety and utility of all, to refuse obedience to by far the greater part, and, with an arrogance unparalleled, to give validity to such of them only as they pleased.

Such was the complexion of the Bill of Rights. They next proceeded to consider an address to his Majesty, for they would not condescend to call it a petition. Perhaps they thought they could not, with propriety, call it so, as it did not ask for any one essential thing. The loyalists, and friends to an union between the two countries, zealously contended that it was equivocal and indecisive; that it asked for nothing; that it was moreover calculated to incense and irritate his Majesty and his Parliament, rather than to obtain a redress of grievances; that the Colonists had always acknowledged themselves subjects of the British State, and truly were so; that it was their duty not only to point out their grievances, but clearly and explicitly to ask for a remedy; that therefore the address ought to contain the great principles of the dispute, and to propose some mode of relief; and that commissioners should be

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sent over to Britain to solicit the redress proposed. One may safely affirm that these arguments were just, and the force of them ought to have prevailed, since they urged nothing more than was the reasonable duty, and invariable practice of good subjects. But reason or argument had little weight. The republican faction had obtained, by working upon the timidity of some, and the ignorance of others, a majority. The address was therefore carried as it was brought in, with some very trifling amendments.

Upon a view of this address, what does it pray for? There is, indeed, an intimation (if an intimation may be called a prayer) that if the Parliament will repeal the statutes since the year 1763, their complaints will *subside*. The word *subside* was prudently and cautiously chosen. It alluded to atoms at the bottom of a fluid, ready to rise at the least emotion; and this would have been the case had the Parliament complied with this intimation. For they had prepared and settled other complaints, or, as they styled them, oppressions, as grounds of future quarrel and war between the two countries, as soon as the statutes made since the year 1763 should be repealed. They had declared their exclusive right of legislation, and had denied the force of all the laws of trade; and of every statute passed before that period, on the principles established by their claim of rights. The right of parliament to make them was as expressly denied, as it was to pass those since 1763; and it was their fixed resolution to make these statutes the subject of dissention as soon

soon as the Colonists were better strengthened, and prepared for war.

To support this fact, the unprejudiced Reader cannot look for stronger proof than their own solemn declarations. These are the completest evidence of designs not carried into execution. They must carry conviction to the human breast, where reason and candour are not excluded. On these then I rely. In a clause of their claim of rights, on which their address was founded, they declare, that "in the course
" of their enquiry, they find *many* infringe-
" ments and violations of the foregoing rights,
" *which they pass over* FOR THE PRESENT, and
" proceed to state such acts and measures as
" have been adopted *since the last war.*" And in another clause, speaking of the statutes, they add, "To these grievous acts and measures
" Americans cannot submit," and therefore
" they have, *for the present* ONLY, resolved to
" pursue the following *peaceable* measures :
" 1st, To enter into a non-importation, non-
" consumption, and non-exportation agreement;
" 2d, To prepare an address to the people of
" Great Britain, and a memorial to the inha-
" bitants of the British Colonies ; and 3d, To
" prepare a loyal address to his Majesty." How far from peaceable these measures were, let common sense judge. The first was carried into execution by every act of violence that lawless committees and desperate mobs could devise. The second was calculated to inflame the minds of the people against their sovereign, and to raise another rebellion in Britain. The third,

to incite the people of America to take up arms against their mother country, and to prepare their minds (as it is expressed) "for mournful events, and every contingency." The address, intimating that their complaints would subside upon the repeal of the statutes since 1763, was sent over and presented; but their resolves respecting the preceding objects of their complaints, and their determination to take them up at a future day, were secreted, not only from Britons, but Americans.

This conduct was artful, treacherous, and base, in respect to both countries. It was equally calculated to amuse and deceive both. But it was absolutely necessary to the successful pursuit of their dark and treasonable design, which they knew would be relished by the greater part of neither. At this time they were destitute of every thing necessary for military resistance. They had not formed their standing committees, conventions, or congresses in the several Colonies. They had not embodied themselves in arms. They had not disarmed the disaffected, nor had they in the country arms or ammunition necessary to their design.

Amusement, falsehood, and fraud, were therefore the only means they then had. These were to be improved into weapons of more effect and power. Their colleagues in faction on this side of the Atlantic were to be supported, because they were necessary to distract the councils of state, and retard its measures. The people of America, then more happy than any other on the globe, were to be duped into
 3 rebellion.

rebellion. To effect these purposes, dissimulation was necessary ; and never, not even by the Cromwellian faction, was more of it used than on this occasion. In all their public proceedings, whether meant to delude the people of Great Britain or of America, we find the most solemn declarations of loyalty to the King, the most ardent desire of a connection and union on constitutional principles with Great Britain, a solemn disavowal of independence, and the strongest asseverations that their sole design was to obtain a redress of American grievances ; and all this at the very time they were making every possible preparation for the most vigorous hostile opposition.

Having taken this plausible ground, they transmitted their proceedings to the faction in Britain. A vote of congressional thanks to “ those truly *noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates*, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament,” attended them. A letter was written to their agents, ordering them to advise and co-operate with all “ great men who might incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.” Their memorial to the people of Great Britain was ordered to be “ communicated particularly to all the trading cities and manufacturing towns in Great Britain.” And their agents were constituted so many spies on the British Government, with orders to give the “ earliest information of all such conduct
“ and

“ and designs of ministry or parliament, as
 “ might concern America to know.”

The system of seditious opposition, in both countries, to the measures of Government, being thus concerted, the Congress broke up. The loyalists seeing no hope of opposing the approaching storm, retired to their families. The republicans adjourned to a tavern, in order to concert the plan which was necessary to be pursued by their party, throughout the Colonies, for raising a military force. This settled, they also returned to their respective Colonies.

And here the two parties acted upon very different principles. The loyalty of the first forbade them to join in the sedition, and taught them to look up to Government to take the lead in suppressing it. But they soon found that the powers of the colonial governments were insulted with impunity, and were daily giving way to new usurpations, without any exertion to prevent it. However, they hoped that the time was approaching, when the powers of the State would be exerted; and they knew, that those powers, if conducted with wisdom, would be more than sufficient to crush the intended rebellion. But the republicans were well apprised that they must rise into power by their own industry. They were therefore indefatigable throughout America. The discontented and factious were convened in every Colony. Provincial congresses, conventions, and committees of safety were appointed by a part of the people in every district, which, when compared with the whole, was truly inconsiderable. These illegal bodies hav-
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ing elected men of the most seditious principles; for members of the next Congress, proceeded to other business.

The loyalists were disarmed, the most obnoxious of them imprisoned. The loyal presses were restrained, some of them seized and destroyed. Publications in favour of Government were publicly burnt, while the republican presses teemed with speeches of their friends and allies in parliament, and letters wrote from their colleagues in faction in England, with a thousand other literary performances, all tending to lead the people into a rebellious opposition to Government. Every measure that art and fraud could suggest, as necessary to delude the people into arms, was industriously pursued. All the Gunsmiths were employed in the manufacturing of musquets; warlike stores of every kind were sent for to foreign countries; the militia in New England became embodied, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Suffolk resolve, and magazines of warlike stores were laid up to be ready for their use. To seize one of these magazines General Gage sent out a party, which was attacked by the militia at Lexington.

On the 10th of May the second Congress met, and a circular letter from the American agents, calculated to persuade the Colonists that no relief was to be obtained from Government, was laid before them. On the same day the Boston delegates delivered a letter from the Provincial Congress of their Colony, informing, that they had resolved to raise an army of 13,600 men, and to borrow 100,000 pounds

pounds towards their support; and that they had made proposals to the Congress of New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut, for furnishing men in the same proportion. On the 16th, advice was received by the President, that a detachment from the Massachusetts and Connecticut militia had taken his Majesty's fort at Ticonderoga.

While these matters were before them, the resolution of the House of Commons of February 20th, 1775, transmitted to Governor Franklin, and by him laid before the assembly of New-Jersey, was by that assembly submitted to their consideration. This resolution was made upon the ground the Americans had taken. They had repeatedly confessed that a grant of their reasonable proportion of aids was their indispensable duty; their assemblies had been repeatedly called upon for that purpose; their grants had been untimely, partial, and unjust; and some, when called on, in times of the greatest danger, either neglected or refused a compliance with the requisition. They had moreover denied the authority of Parliament, and refused to be represented in it. Upon this ground, Parliament could offer nothing more liberal towards the Colonies than this proposition.

The proposition amounts to this: *The Colonies have declared that they are willing to grant their reasonable proportion of aids for the common defence, and to provide for their respective civil establishments; now if the Colonies will propose to do this by their several legislatures, and if such proposal shall appear to be just, and be approved of*

of by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, so long as such proposals shall be carried into effect, Parliament shall forbear, in respect to the Colony complying, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except only the duties necessary for the regulation of commerce; and even the nett proceeds of these duties shall be carried to the account of the Colony complying with the proposal. In this proposition, what was it that Parliament reserved? They gave up the mode of raising and levying the taxes, to the colonial assemblies: and to remove all possibility of inducement in Parliament to draw a revenue from them under the pretence of regulating their commerce, they declare that the revenue thus raised, shall be carried to the credit of their national aids. The only power reserved is less than was ever before reserved by the supreme authority of any State whatever; and it is no more, when candidly examined, and stripped of the false colours with which the Congress has bedaubed it, than a right to compel a Colony to do justice to the community of which it is a member; and that not before it has given proof of its disobedience and non-compliance with its first and most important duty. Such a power all men must acknowledge is essential to their subordination, to their union, to their protection and safety. It must therefore be lodged somewhere. And where could it be more properly, or more safely placed, than in the supreme authority of the State?

Now if the Colonies are members of the British State—if they will not be represented in Parliament—if they have no supremacy among themselves to ascertain their proportion of aids,

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or to compel them to make their reasonable contributions, which are all facts, acknowledged by themselves; and if they have not proposed, or asked, for the establishment of any means by which the State may have a security, that they will, when their own safety and that of the nation are in danger, perform their reasonable duty, was Parliament to continue to protect them with the monies levied on the people of Great-Britain, and to give up all power of compelling them to grant their reasonable proportions? If they intended that the British Parliament should have any authority over them at all, what less *could it retain*? If they did not approve of this proposition, and did not mean to be absolutely independent, why did they not propose the means by which they might be dependent, agreeable to the constitution they so much admired? If they had any other union of the two countries, more constitutional, in view, why did they not petition for it? Their instructions ordered them to do so—it was the earnest wish of the generality of their constituents. Why then did they not comply with those instructions, if they disliked the proposition? I call upon the factions on both sides of the Atlantic; the voice of reason and justice unites with me in the call, to assign any other reason why they neither made this proposition a ground of accommodation, nor proposed to Parliament any other, but that they were determined, through all the horrors attendant on rebellion, to establish their independence.

Resolved to avoid every path to a reconciliation with Great-Britain, because inconsistent
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with their views of independence, they rejected this proposition as "unreasonable and insidious," and proceeded with the utmost industry in their military preparations. Were I to give a minute relation of them, it would be attended with a prolixity which no entertainment to be derived from them could compensate. I shall therefore only mention in general, the principal measures which they thought necessary to be established, before they could safely declare their long meditated independence. They appointed a committee to provide magazines of ammunition and military stores. They abolished the general post-office established by act of Parliament, and instituted another. They declared the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts vacant, and recommended to the people of that Province to institute a new Government. They resolved to raise a regular army. They appointed the commander in chief, and other officers, and ordered the issuing 2,000,000 of dollars to defray the expence of their military opposition. Upon receiving an account that the people of North Carolina were very generally disaffected to their measures, they directed a thousand men to be raised to subdue the spirit of opposition in that Province; and they ordered the militia of the several Colonies to be embodied.

Having thus, with great success, brought their scheme to a considerable degree of maturity, all the disaffected to their measures being disarmed, and a considerable military force under their command in the field, they proceeded to make a formal declaration of war

against their Sovereign and his Parliament, and to write another seditious letter to the people of Great Britain, to amuse or delude them into rebellion. These measures were of too much importance not to be communicated immediately to their faithful allies in Britain. A letter was therefore sent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, paying them the "just tribute of gratitude and thanks for the virtuous and unsolicited resentment they had shewn to the violated rights of a free people." And to convince the Corporation how sensible the Congress were "of the powerful aid their cause must receive from such advocates," another letter was wrote to Mr. Penn, formerly Governor of Pennsylvania, who was then coming to England, and to the Colony agents, inclosing the declaration of war, the seditious letter to the people of Great-Britain, and that to the Lord Mayor. In this letter, the persons to whom it was directed were desired to put the declaration of war, and the letter to the people of Great-Britain, "immediately to the press, and to communicate them as universally as possible." And they were also ordered to "give such intelligence as they might judge to be of importance to America in this great contest*."

With this letter another petition was also sent to his Majesty, which, like those that had preceded it, was truly an insult and mockery. It was vague in respect to the subject matter, false in respect to a number of facts, indecisive as to American rights, and, though called a petition, asked for nothing. All these truths

* See Appendix.

will appear from a slight examination of the petition itself. It begins in these words: "We your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies," &c. &c. Now can any man of sense and candour be persuaded that these men, notwithstanding their professions, could possibly be the "faithful subjects" of the King, when they denied their subordination to the Parliament, of which the King is head and supreme representative? Could they, in the nature of things, be faithful to the representative, while they withheld their obedience to the principal? Could they be faithful to the King, when they had taken up arms to oppose the authority of that supremacy in which he participates, and of which he is the supreme executive representative? It is an absurdity; a falsity too glaring to impose on a vulgar understanding.

In the next paragraph they wildly talk of an "union between the Mother Country and the Colonies," and in another declare, that they are most "ardently desirous that the former harmony between them may be restored." But there is not the least hint what kind of union they wished for, or by what means that harmony might be restored. This they had avoided in all their petitions, because they knew that Parliament was ready to meet any reasonable proposal of that nature. They could not mean a legislative union, or a submission to the same supreme authority, which is the only measure ever yet invented to combine the members of the same society together; because this they had uniformly denied. It must therefore be a fœderative union. Thus while they professed themselves

selves subjects, they spoke in the language of allies, and were openly acting the part of enemies; and while in their petition they declared their subordination, by their actions they proved their design to be that of independence.

In their usual style of dissimulation they profess "too tender a regard for the kingdom from which they derive their origin, to request such a reconciliation as might be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare." What this reconciliation was, they have also avoided to mention. But so far as it is possible to collect it from their words and actions, we know it to be an exclusive right of legislation in their colonial assemblies. They had refused to be represented in the British Parliament; they had rejected a plan for establishing an American branch of that legislature, in which they would have been perfectly represented; they had rejected the proposition made by the House of Commons, leaving their colonial legislatures in the possession of the right of granting their contributions to the national defence in their own way. What other mode of reconciliation, consistent with the "dignity, or welfare of the kingdom," was now left? There was none which the powers of human reason could devise, short of independence.

Like their former petitions, this was not deficient in abuse of Administration. Their conduct was said to be replete with "delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities;" that they had since the last war adopted "a new system of statutes and regulations" to enslave the Colonies. But the novelty

novelty of this system they had not, in any of their proceedings, attempted to point out. The difference between the principles upon which the colonial administration has been managed since that period, from those on which it had been managed before, remains yet a secret to all the world but the Congress. Indeed no assertion can be more groundless and false; because every statute and every colonial regulation since that time, is founded on a variety of precedents. Similar statutes had been passed in former reigns, and some of them so early as the last century, and all of them had been cheerfully submitted to by the Colonists, so that there was nothing novel in their principles. But this charge was necessary to deceive the people of both countries. It was necessary to raise some phantom of injustice, to prevail on Britons to give up rights which were as ancient as the settlement of America, and which the Americans by their conduct had always acknowledged; and it was necessary to induce the Americans to withdraw themselves from that allegiance to Government, from whence they had derived their freedom, their safety and happiness.

The prayer of the petition was vague, nugatory, and insidious. They desire his Majesty "to point out some *mode*, by which the united applications of his *faithful* Colonists to the Throne may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." That men should speak of a reconciliation, who had never taken one step towards it, and who had rejected the means of effecting it when offered, is remarkable. But what did they mean by *some mode*?

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Was it possible for his Majesty, without the least explanation, to divine what ideas they had annexed to these words? Did they mean the appointment of persons to hear their complaints, and to redress them if just? They knew that the Parliament was the constitutional guardian of the rights of all the members of the empire, and possessed complete authority to redress their injuries, if any subsisted; and therefore that it was their duty, as subjects, to define their rights, and to propose to the Parliament the means by which they desired those rights might be restored; and this very method had been pointed out to them by his Majesty's Secretary of State, as we have seen in General Conway's letter. Did they mean that his Majesty should penetrate into their desires, which they had artfully concealed? This was impossible. Did they mean that he should make some proposal, by which they might be enabled to grant their own aids, and be relieved from parliamentary taxation? This had been fully complied with, in the resolution of the House of Commons; and moreover, Commissioners who had espoused their cause, and were friendly to their measures, were sent over to confer on these and all other matters, and to make and receive proposals. But even with these they refused to negotiate in the character of subjects. They would not even confer but in their illegal, independent, and congressional capacity, infidiously hoping to draw from the Commissioners a concession of the legality and independence of their constitutions, the want of which had hitherto

hitherto prevented the enemies of Britain from entering into an alliance with them.

Much clamour, ill-founded and unjust, has been made by the abettors of the American rebellion against his Majesty's Ministers, for not attending to this and other petitions equally nugatory, unmeaning, and affronting to the supreme authority of the State. I call this clamour ill-founded and unjust, because the very faction who made it know, that in consequence of the former petitions, the House of Commons, divesting itself of all resentment at the indignity offered to the supreme authority of the State, by a denial of that authority, and a refusal to participate in it, the greatest it could possibly receive from its subjects, condescended to propose a plan which avoided these objections, was reasonable and just, and would have been adopted as a sufficient ground of negotiation at least, by men who were not resolved on independence; and that, in pursuance of the last petition, Commissioners were sent over with more enlarged powers, to negotiate, and to know their as yet untold and latent desires. And they also know, that the proposition of the House of Commons, made with the best intentions, and founded in the strictest justice, was loaded with the opprobrious terms "unreasonable and insidious;" and declared that it "was held up to the world to deceive;" and that the subsequent commission in the hands of their own friends was treated with equal insult and neglect. The authors of this ill-founded abuse upon Government, appear to have lost all sense of the practice and relative duties of subjects. If the American rights

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were infringed, it was most certainly their duty as subjects to define those rights, and to propose a remedy by which they might be restored. This was done by their fellow-subjects in Wales, Chester and Durham ; it is done almost in every petition presented to Parliament for redress. Why then has it not been done by the American faction, if they were sincere in their professions, and desirous of an union with this country ? Why has their whole conduct, from the beginning of the dispute, been dark, indecisive, hypocritical and insidious ?

From this view of the facts it must appear evident, that there has been great, and indeed too much, condescension on the part of the State towards its subjects ; that it has made advances towards a reconciliation as far as it possibly could, without giving up its essential rights, the rights of the people of Great-Britain, and discharging the Americans from all subordination ; that from a lenity of disposition, and a desire to avoid the effusion of blood, they have overlooked, for a long time, insults greater in their nature than any which they would have received, without resentment, from any sovereign power whatever ; while the Americans, relinquishing the characters of subjects, and laying aside all decency of language, have rested their pretensions on principles which, when candidly examined, clearly amount to a claim of absolute independence.

The Congress and their adherents, having dispatched the petition, proceeded in their military preparations with greater vigour, and more system. The Provincial Congresses, Con-
ventions,

ventions, and Committees, became the executive authorities under them. These made daily advances in setting aside the established Governments, and in a short time assumed all their powers. Additions were made to their army. The republicans were embodied in arms, the loyalists were disarmed, and all the military stores and ammunition in America were collected in their magazines. Having taken his Majesty's fort at Ticonderoga, they invaded Canada, and besieged the British army in Boston.

Such was the general state of their affairs, when Congress received advice that British Commissioners were on their passage to America, empowered to offer to the Colonies terms of accommodation, and attended by a formidable military and naval force. They knew that a very great majority of the Colonists were attached to the British Government, and, though disarmed, would be ready to support the Commissioners as far as it was possible, in every reasonable proposal they should make. They saw the impossibility of obtaining their ultimate aim without foreign assistance, and that assistance they could not obtain even from the common and inveterate enemy of Britain, while they remained under the character of its subjects.

The necessity of their affairs now compelled them to throw off the mask. That design which they had disguised under the most solemn professions of loyalty, and of the most ardent desire to be united with Great-Britain on constitutional principles, ~~and which they had continually denied,~~ was now to be openly, and as

solemnly avowed. To effect this in Congress, much cabal and intrigue was necessary. Many of the members, recollecting their instructions, knew the sentiments of the people in general, and besides saw the ruin and horrors of a measure so bold and dangerous. Their cabals continued near a month; the republican faction met with much opposition, and for a time, despaired of success; at length, however, having made some proselytes to their opinion, they resolved to risque the vote of Independence. And yet after all the arts of intrigue had been so long essayed, the question was put, and the Colonies were equally divided. But upon the next day the question being again resumed, contrary to their own rules, Mr. Dickinson, a gentleman naturally timid and variable in his principles, retracted his opinion, and gave the casting vote. Thus did this great event, which was to support a dangerous and seditious faction in the heart of the Mother Country, and to involve it in a war with two powerful nations, depend on the vote of an individual member of its own community.

The vote of Independence was soon followed by another, recommending to the people to abolish the old, and to institute new forms of Government. This measure was eagerly adopted by their adherents, who had now all power in their own hands. They were combined in Congresses, Conventions, and Committees. They were arrayed in arms by voluntary associations, and there was moreover a regular armed force under the Congress to support them; while the loyalists, and friends to the British constitution,

tion, were without a head, and without weapons. These had been long since disarmed. The Governors of all the royal Colonies had been driven from their governments, while those of Pennsylvania, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut, were permitted to remain unmolested, and in office. The King's Governors had given opposition to their measures, while the others (excepting the Governor of Maryland) either had not disapproved of, or had openly abetted them. The Proprietary Governor of Pennsylvania, if he did not abet, did not, from the beginning of the sedition, discover the least disapprobation of their conduct. His friends, his magistrates, and all the officers of his own appointment, not ten in the whole Colony excepted, were leaders in the opposition. In the two Charter Governments of Rhode-Island and Connecticut, the Governors were the creatures of the faction, and at the head of their measures. All obstacles being thus removed, they were not long in establishing their new States, in which they excluded every trace of the powers of royalty and aristocracy.

The time was now come when the independent faction, having obtained by their arts sufficient power, were not afraid to acknowledge that they had deceived the people from the beginning of their opposition to Government; and that notwithstanding all their solemn professions to the contrary, they ever had independence in their view. Samuel Adams, the great director of their councils, and the most cautious, artful, and reserved man among them, did not hesitate, as soon as the vote of Independence had passed, to declare

declare in all companies, that “ he had laboured
 “ upwards of twenty years to accomplish the
 “ measure; that during that time he had car-
 “ ried his art and industry so far, as to search
 “ after every rising genius in the New England
 “ seminaries, and employed his utmost abilities
 “ to fix in their minds the principles of Ame-
 “ rican Independence, and that he rejoiced he
 “ had now accomplished the measure.”

We have now before us a brief view of the principles of the American rebellion; and we find that it has risen from the same source, and been conducted by the same spirit with that which effected the destruction of the English Government in the last century. The leaders in both set out with a pretence of asserting the liberties of the people. Professions of the most zealous loyalty and firmest attachment to the established Government, were the veils under which, for a time, they concealed their sedition. The same arts and hypocritical falsehoods, with the same kind of illegal and tumultuous violence, were employed by both. Factious conventions, committees and mobs, were the instruments by which they carried their treasonable practices into execution. If the pulpits of the sectaries in England in the year 1641, re-founded with sedition, the pulpits of the Congregational Independents and Presbyterians, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, rung with the same flagitious doctrines. Upon a faithful enquiry it was found, that in the four New England Provinces, there were only twelve among five hundred and fifty dissenting ministers, and in all the other Colonies a still less number, who declined

declined the rebellious task. If the opposition to the rebellion in England was composed chiefly of the members of the established Church, the same people, with the Quakers, Methodists, &c. as soon as their scheme of Independence was known, formed the opposition in America. And if the abolition of the monarchical and aristocratical parts of the constitution was the great object of the independents in Britain, all the circumstances attending the American rebellion added to the event, prove incontestibly, that the American republicans had the same design from the beginning constantly in their view.

The parallel between these rebellions might be carried yet further, but enough has been said to place the motives and designs of the American insurgents in their true light. If indeed there was any difference between them, it has consisted in the different conduct of the Princes, in whose reigns they have respectively happened, towards the insurgents. In the reign of Charles the First, it must be acknowledged that there were grievances which afforded a plausible pretext for opposition, though they could not justify the extent to which it was carried. Among these may be reckoned the frequent dissolutions of Parliament, the raising of money without the assent of Parliament, the proceedings against some of its members, and a variety of other transactions which did not consist with the freedom of the British constitution. But in the present reign there has been no one act which has had the least tendency, or which has discovered the least wish in the Prince or his Ministers

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to injure the constitution of the British Government, or to oppress the insurgents; but on the contrary, there have been the strongest proofs of a desire to preserve the constitution pure and inviolate. It has been a reign of the most ample protection, without one act of oppression or injustice.

Having thus traced the American rebellion from its original source to the declaration of Independence, I shall conclude these reflections with some general observations, which naturally arise out of the subject.

I know it is the opinion of some men, that Colonies cannot be long kept in subordination to the Parent State. That, like individuals in the different stages of life, they will in their youth be subordinate; but as soon as they are arrived at strength and maturity, they will naturally become discontented, and throw off their connexion with their Parent State. This opinion I have ever thought ill-founded. It is not supported by any instances to be found in ancient or modern history. The revolt of Colonies has ever been occasioned by other causes. The Colonies of Rome were oppressed; they were compelled to pay excessive tributes. These were levied by their Governors appointed at Rome. They furnished armies for the protection of the city, consisting of double the numbers supplied by Rome itself; and yet they did not participate in the rights of Roman citizens. They were neither enrolled in their legions, nor could vote in their Comitia; they were deprived of any possibility of sharing in the emoluments, honours, or dignities of office they were not even treated as members of the State,

State, but as slaves; and although they had often solicited the senate to give them the rights of citizens, the pride, the folly of the senate rejected their supplications, and therefore they revolted.

The great mistake of Rome in the government of their Colonies and Provinces, was founded in the arrogance of power. Rome sent out colonies, because the principal territory was too full of inhabitants. She selected for this purpose the lowest and the meanest of the people. These, and those whom her arms had lately conquered, her pride considered as an inferior class of mortals, not intitled to the rights of humanity. They were therefore indulged with few privileges. The State never considered that in time, by cultivating the same arts, and by their superior industry, which the situation they were placed in tended to promote, they would become equally improved in knowledge, and possessed of equal, if not superior power; and that when this should happen, they would naturally perceive and resent the illiberal and odious distinctions made between them and the other members of the State. To this folly the revolt of the Roman Colonies can only be justly attributed.

The revolt of the British Colonies has arisen, as we have seen, from opposite causes. It is not uncommon for contrary extremes to produce the same effects. If the Romans gave less freedom to the colonist than the citizen enjoyed at Rome, Britons gave more liberty to the Americans than the subject enjoyed in Britain. Instead of giving them the same privileges, and subjecting

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them to the same powers to which the subjects in Britain were subordinate, they gave them rights which, if they did not amount to independence itself, approached as near as possible to it. Instead of enslaving them, they gave them more freedom than was consistent with true civil liberty.

Let us suppose that Rome or Britain had wisely established in their respective Colonies or Provinces, as soon as they were settled or conquered, systems similar in essential polity to those of the State, and had incorporated those systems with the State itself; and that they had been governed by the same general laws and customs, and suffered to enjoy the same degree of liberty, excluding all distinctions between the citizen and the colonist; is there any person, acquainted with the influence and effects which civil polity ever had on the conduct of men, who can believe that either revolt would have happened? It does not consist with reason, and stands contradicted by all experience.

The conduct of the Roman Colonies towards the State after their union with it, is a proof of this truth. For although their incorporation was rather partial than perfect; although instead of being united to the old, they were formed into a few new tribes; and were only admitted to vote last in order, so that they seldom had an opportunity of exercising their rights; yet ever after they supplied their proportions of men in the Roman armies, and their proportion of aids in the public treasury; they fought her battles, and remained faithful to the State until they were severed from it by foreign violence, and

the empire itself, enfeebled by the immense wealth and universal luxury and dissipation of its people, was over-run by barbarous nations.

But we need not travel into ancient history to support this truth. The instance of Scotland is within our memory. The extension of the British system of government to that country we have seen continually operating on the manners and affections of the people; suppressing their former dislike, and changing their aversion into a fixed affection for the State in so remarkable a manner, that from the most disaffected of British subjects, they are become the most faithful, and in all probability will be the firmest friends to that constitution of which they have so lately been made partakers, when it shall stand in the most need of support.

If these observations are just, there can be no reason to doubt but that the Colonies, should they be reduced, may, by proper measures, be secured in their obedience to the British State for ages to come. The causes of the revolt being perfectly ascertained, the political physician cannot be at a loss for the proper remedy, nor despair of a cure. Upon looking into the state of the patient, he will find every symptom in his favour. The poison has not spread itself through the general mass of the people; the disaffection is confined to two sects of dissenters; while the people of the Established Church, Methodists, Lutherans, German Calvinists, Quakers, Menonists, &c. are warmly attached to the British Government, and ready to embrace any reasonable terms which shall remove the constitutional defect in the authority of Parliament, the in-

ability of the Colonies, and the causes of future revolt. In short, the Colonies at this moment are in that very disposition in which Charles II. found the people of Britain at the time of his restoration. They have seen the arts and frauds of their leaders, and are daily suffering under their treachery and tyranny; their country has been drained of its labourers, and remains uncultivated; their commerce is ruined, and every necessary of life is extravagantly dear, and but few to be obtained; and to increase this part of their distress, the little property remaining is daily seized, and nothing returned for it but money of no value, insomuch that they have wasted upwards of 40,000,000*l.* sterling in forging their own chains. Laws the most unjust, oppressive, and sanguinary, have been made for their government. Children have been driven from their parents, and husbands from their wives, into the field, to support the tyranny of their rulers; and more than one fifth part of their white inhabitants who were capable of bearing arms, have already perished in a war, unjust and unnatural. Disarmed, ruined, and incapable of assisting themselves, *they are looking up to Great Britain with impatience for deliverance from yet more grievous misfortunes.* In this situation, no man of reflection can doubt but that these unhappy people are ready to accept any just propositions for removing their distress, and giving them future safety; nor is it possible not to see, that this is the critical moment which Government ought to embrace for establishing that system of polity in the Colonies which will hereafter secure them to Great-Britain.

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This disposition in the Americans, Government will certainly meet with propositions which shall give them reasonable liberty, and more firmly unite them to Great-Britain.

In order to effect these great purposes, temporary expedients, so often tried and so often ineffectual, must be avoided. These kinds of remedies are unworthy of wisdom; they have never yet failed to produce greater difficulties than they were intended to remove. The remedy should be such as to meet the disease, and to eradicate its causes. If it does not do this, it effects nothing, or something worse than nothing; it leaves the disorder to break out again at some future period, with redoubled virulence.

The inexpediency of the remedies hitherto applied will appear evident, if an individual may presume to canvass the resolutions of the State. The matters in dispute between the two countries lie in a very narrow compass. They may be all reduced to one great object, *viz. The right of the supreme authority of the State over the Colonies.* The statesman in Britain contends, and justly contends, *for the necessity of a supreme authority over every part and member of the empire.* In this he is supported by all precedents, by every known system of polity, by the reason and nature of civil society, and by the concurrent authority of all writers on Government. On the contrary, the Americans assert, that by the constitution of the English Government, settled and confirmed by the great Charter of Rights, it is essential to the freedom of America, that its landed interest or freeholders should be *represented* in the great Councils,

Councils, which make the laws by which *their properties, their liberties, and their lives are to be affected*; and that without this the British Government is certainly *despotic* over them. Now these propositions are both true; and while the parties rest on them, it is impossible that an union, on principles of genuine policy, should ever take place. They are so repugnant, that they cannot be reconciled of themselves, without some intermediate proposition *which shall include the affirmative of both*—or which shall leave the parliamentary authority *supreme* over the Colonies, and at the same time give the Colonies a *representation*.

None of the measures proposed by Great-Britain to the Colonies have tended to these purposes. The proposition of the House of Commons in the year 1776, did neither give up the authority of Parliament, nor constitutionally modify it, but ultimately retained it on those very principles on which the Americans had denied it. The Colonies were left in the possession of the right which they had exercised before, of granting aids to the Crown; but if those aids were not approved by Parliament, its right to tax them, though not represented, remained in full force. Besides, this proposition related only to the right of taxing the Colonies, but the denial of the authority of Parliament regarded all legislative acts over them. Nor was the political incompetency of the Colonies, arising from their disunion, in any degree removed. Hence, however the proposition might and ought to have served as a ground for negotiation,

ciation, it did not meet, nor tend to remove, the great object of dispute.

From one extreme Great-Britain, pushed on by a number of events as unexpected as unfortunate, ran into another. Dismayed at a series of ill successes in America, occasioned by the misconduct of her Generals, and the hostile declaration of France, and totally misinformed, by the arts of the factions on both sides of the Atlantic, in respect to the desires of the Americans in general, the terms next offered, so far as they were made known, if they did not amount to absolute independence, were little short of it. The right of Parliament to tax the Colonies was explicitly given up. The instructions of the Americans to their delegates in Congress, the repeated declarations of Congress before, and even at the time of their declaring their independence, to be more firmly united *on constitutional principles*, were forgot, and all that Government seemed to expect was a fœderative "*union of force*" between the two countries. If Great-Britain was too tenacious of the ancient authority of Parliament in the first, she was too inattentive to her rights in the last propositions. If she fell short of the wishes of the Colonists in general in the first, she infinitely surpassed them in the last; so that none of them were agreeable to the people in general of America, because they did not contain any ground upon which might be erected a *constitutional union* between the two countries. They did not meet the allegations of the parties, nor tend in any degree to reconcile the difference.

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These propositions were not only defective, but ill-timed. If the British councils had shewn a determined firmness to maintain the authority of Parliament in the time of the Stamp Act, and had then offered the resolution of the House of Commons, it would in all probability have been made the ground of negotiation. The republican faction was not then formed, or prepared for military opposition, and must therefore have submitted or treated. And had the propositions sent over by the last Commissioners been made before the independents had received assurances of assistance from France, they would certainly have been accepted by them; but at the time they were made, the Congress had formed their alliance with France. They had seen the unparalleled blunders of the British commander, the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the retreat of the British army to New-York; and upon being informed of the purport of the terms then offered, they perceived that Parliament had given up its authority; that the councils of the British State were yielding to their wishes; and they were confirmed in this opinion by letters wrote by the faction in Britain, *assuring them that if they persevered, they must in the end obtain absolute independence.*

It was not probable that propositions, both defective and ill-timed, would meet with the concurrence of the persons to whom they were made. The Americans were now divided in two parties. The first, and by far the greatest, consisted of men who had severely felt the tyranny and cruelties of their new rulers, and sincerely wished for an union with Great-Britain on the
fundamental

fundamental and essential principles of the English Government. The second were men whom nothing less than perfect independence would satisfy. The loyalists did not wish that the authority of Parliament, in any respect, should be absolutely given up. All that they desired was, that it might be modified, and made more constitutional over them. An union, and not a separation in polity, was the object of their pursuit. But the terms offered did not contain any principles on which the two countries could be united; on the contrary, they, to all appearance, laid a sure foundation of future quarrel and civil wars, and consequently of American independence; an event equally inconsistent with their safety and happiness as with that of Great Britain. They therefore preferred the temporary ravages and horrors of war to the lasting mischiefs which these propositions, if accepted, must have entailed on them and their posterity.

On the other hand, the independents now grown desperate from their rebellion, and the innumerable cruelties committed on the loyalists, equally reprobated them, because they hoped, by the assistance of France, soon to obtain the great object of their original design, and to support their own power and dignity, which they knew they must resign if a reconciliation with Great Britain should take place. Hence it happened, that there never were any proposals of accommodation held out by one people to another, more universally disapproved than the terms of the last commission.

Seeing then that those temporary and defective expedients have failed in settling the difference
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between the two countries, Great-Britain will certainly pursue other measures more promising of success. A little consideration will tell her, that it is not a confederation of force, or a commercial alliance, but a firm and solid union in polity, which only can secure the Colonies. And in order to know upon what principles this union ought to be established, we are not to search for them in the laws of nature and nations; they are to be found nearer home. Those principles upon which all civil societies are formed, and particularly those upon which the British constitution is established, will best instruct us. Here we shall find,

That a *supreme legislative authority* over every member and part of a society, in respect to every matter susceptible of human direction, is essential in the constitution of all States. That it is this authority, the same fundamental principles of polity, and the same general laws pervading the whole system, whatever may be its form, which create in the subjects the same habits, manners, affections and prejudices, fix the national attachment, form the cement of union, and by an imperceptible impulse compel them to act, on all occasions, in concert for the common good and safety: And that to give up one of the rights of this authority, and more especially the most important of all, the right of taxation, will be only the prelude to a speedy surrender of the whole.

We shall here also perceive, that the British Government is a mixed monarchy, in which the principles of the three simple forms of Government are so wisely mixed and tempered, as to
guard,

guard, with equal power and certainty, against the two great enemies to civil liberty, despotism and licentiousness. That a representation in its supreme authority is the essence of its freedom; and that its power over a district of territory whose people are not represented, is despotic, and not free.

Upon considering the nature and design of inferior and subordinate societies, we shall find, that they are intended to support and strengthen the principal system, and not to weaken, oppose, or to destroy it; and therefore that they should be formed on the principles and fundamental laws of the State itself. That inferior democratical societies, or those whose powers and rights are not properly mixed and balanced, cannot strengthen, but must weaken a mixed form of Government. That the simple principles of aristocracy or democracy will not suit under a monarchy, and so *mutatis mutandis*; nor will the principles of any of them unmixed, and not duly balanced, agree with a mixed monarchy,

Upon looking into the Governments of the Colonies before they were annulled by the rebellion, we shall perceive that they were a chaos of political absurdities, consonant to no systems ever yet invented; that they neither harmonized with each other, nor with the State itself; and that they have been settled through the indolence, or ignorance, or corruption of former politicians, on principles totally heterogeneous and repugnant to those of the Government to which they were intended to be subordinate. In the Royal Colonies, the powers of Government

are divided between the representative of the Crown and the people, without the least intermediate check to an excess of constitutional power in either. In the Proprietary Colonies, the regal power, or the representative of the British State, has scarcely retained the shadow of its authority. All the executive and fœderative rights of the State are granted to the proprietaries and *their heirs*, and all the powers of complete legislation are divided between them and the people, without any mean check or controul. In one of the Charter Colonies, the representative of the British State has very little more weight in the legislative and executive powers, than the Doge has in the councils of *Venice*; and in the other two the Governments are, to all intents and purposes, independent democracies; so that they are truly so many *inferior political monsters, which have, and ever will coalesce to disturb the peace and order of the society, and in the end to destroy it.*

And we must further consider, that men can only be governed either by fear or art. That fear must be supported by force, and that force will not answer our present purpose. For, however it may be used with success by despotic Governments, it cannot be safely employed in one where freedom constitutes its essence, and a great number of people are to be governed by it. We must therefore apply to policy for the means by which the two countries must be united, if united for any series of time. This will teach us to remove, as much as possible, all distinctions in respect to the power, rights and privileges, which have too long subsisted between
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a subject in Britain and one in America, and consequently to carry over the Atlantic the same fundamental rights and powers, the same constitutional privileges, the same general laws and maxims of polity, under and by which the habits and manners, the passions and attachments of the subject in Britain have been formed, directed and governed; because it is this policy alone that can eradicate that aversion to a mixed monarchy which has been suffered to exist already too long in the Colonies, and which can form a solid and permanent union between the two countries, *making them one people of one mind, in respect to their common interest and safety.*

It is much to be regretted, that neither country seems to approve of an American representation in Parliament, because it is a measure the most consistent with those principles upon which the unity and freedom of the British Government is established. However, since this is despaired of, it will be wisdom, secondary wisdom at least, to adopt the next best. An American legislature, incorporated with the British Parliament, for the purposes of American regulations, in which the Colonists shall be represented, and in which they shall be capable of giving validity to no act but what shall be approved of by Parliament, is that measure. Indeed there is no other solid, or even rational mode of union in polity, except a representation in Parliament. It is this joint consent which constitutes the unity of the British, and of every other mixed form of Government.

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By this legislature, if properly constituted, the rights which the Americans claim may be restored, their political inability to grant their reasonable proportions of aids towards the national defence may be removed, a security that they will give those aids on all occasions may be obtained; and their subordination to the British State may be established on such principles as will unite them with Great-Britain for ages to come.

Sincerely disposed, as the greater part of the people in America are, to be more firmly united with Great-Britain on constitutional principles, is it not much to be lamented, that the British legislature, seeing the defect in its constitutional authority over the Colonies, and knowing that it is the great foundation of their discontent, have not taken it into their serious consideration, and adopted the measure most proper for removing it? Had this been done in the beginning of the opposition to the authority of Parliament, the republican faction must have been destitute of the means by which they have inflamed the minds of the Americans, and led them to a revolt. But I am not fond of dwelling on past errors, further than is necessary to amendment. It is not now too late; and perhaps, all circumstances considered, this is the most proper time for doing it. The strong desires of the people, the severity of their new laws, the superlative tyranny of their rulers, the extreme distress they have suffered, and are likely to suffer, and the apprehensions they justly entertain of the insidious designs of the courts of Versailles and Madrid, point out this

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as the fortunate moment. Men tired of their present misery, and having yet greater in prospect, will cheerfully embrace such proposals as evidently tend to their future safety and happiness. Besides, a measure of this kind will falsify the declaration of Congress constantly held up to the people, that the Parliament intends to enslave them. It cannot fail to remove their fears, and fix a confidence in the justice and upright intentions of the State towards them; and it must do more *towards breaking the confederacy of the Colonies*, and restoring their obedience to Government, than any other measure that can be possibly devised.

The remarkable success of this policy, when adopted by Rome on a similar occasion, will, I trust, prove a lesson of instruction to Britain. The supreme authority of that city was absolute over her Colonies and Provinces. A constitutional participation in the rights of that authority, though possessed by the citizens, was imprudently withheld from the colonists. This distinction, in respect to their politic rights, gave great discontent to the latter. To obtain the same rights which were enjoyed by their fellow-subjects in Rome, they entered into a confederacy, and took arms. The *Social war* ensued. Many battles were fought; the colonists often triumphed; and Rome was reduced to the greatest extremity. At length her obstinacy and folly gave way to her safety. A law was passed, called the *Lex Julia*, because proposed and obtained by Lucius Julius Cæsar, granting to such of the Colonies as should lay down their arms, the *constitutional rights of Ro-*

man citizens. This law being immediately communicated to the Colonies, what were the consequences? Those Colonies which were tired of the war, those which were content with the terms offered, and those which wished to be united with Rome, although the mode of the grant was not perfectly agreeable to them, laid down their arms, deserted the union, and returned to their former obedience. And Rome, whose armies had been defeated in almost every battle, now, and not till now, triumphed in her turn; and soon after, honourably to herself, ended the war, and recovered her lost authority over her Colonies. All this she performed, although, like Britain, civil broils and factions engaged her councils at home, and a dangerous combination of two powerful Princes, the Kings of Pontus and Armenia, employed her arms abroad.

This policy, this act of public justice to her subjects, together with a firmness of spirit which "*never despaired of the commonwealth,*" saved Rome, and in all probability, if pursued, will save Britain. The same causes will ever produce the same effects. Should Great-Britain offer to the Americans a civil constitution, containing a measure of power, and a degree of liberty commensurate to her own polity, excluding all distinctions between Britons and Americans, and removing the great cause of colonial complaints, is there not the strongest of all probabilities, to induce us to believe, that it will produce the same happy effects which the like measure produced in the Roman Colonies? If this measure,
proposed

proposed to a people, at a time when their arms were crowned with victories, and when the State which they were opposing was reduced to the greatest difficulties, could recal to their minds their former connections; could remove their fears excited by frequent denials of their reasonable petitions; could revive their former attachments and affections; could dissever their union, and bring them home to their obedience; surely there is more reason to convince us that the Americans, dreading the ambitious designs of their insidious ally; destitute of the great resources of war; without men, and without money; their commerce lost, their forces generally defeated, and their country ruined by the ravages and expences of the war, will see their own interest, and embrace those terms when offered which they would have accepted in the time of their prosperity.

Should it be objected, that the most liberal terms of accommodation have been already offered without effect, my answer is, that proposals for accommodating a dispute of such magnitude and importance to both countries, should not only be properly timed, but explicit, and clear from all ambiguity. They should also fully and equitably meet the subject matter in controversy, and, if possible, the wishes of the people to whom they are made. Now none of the terms offered to the Americans came within these descriptions, as I have before shewn. If then we have been guilty of mistakes through the want of right information, we certainly ought not to suffer those mistakes to prevent our taking such measures as we ought to have taken.

at first. Rome at length found it necessary to her safety to be just, and to do that in her distress, with little credit to herself, which she might and ought to have done in her prosperity, with greater advantage and better grace. Had Rome continued obstinate, or had she ultimately offered to her Colonies equivocal and inadequate propositions, her glory, if not her existence, must have been sacrificed to her obstinacy and folly.

Why then should not Great-Britain, when involved in the same difficulties, attended by the same circumstances, and having the same prospect of success before her, follow a precedent which promises such beneficial consequences? Is it because the earnest wish of the people of America is not known? This cannot be the case, because it is fully asserted in their instructions to their delegates in Congress, and a variety of other public documents, and declared to be a *constitutional union in polity with Great-Britain*. Is it because the Congress have artfully avoided to gratify the desires of the people in explicitly asking for that union, or because they have insolently refused to treat with this country, contrary to the general sense of their constituents? Both these reasons are the strongest that can be offered in favour of the measure. Is it because a measure, which evidently tends to break the confederated force and union of the colonies—to remove the fears of the loyalists, and to gratify their reasonable desires, which perfectly coincide with the true interest and permanent safety of both countries, is unworthy of the serious deliberations of a
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British Parliament? Or is it because a seditious faction within the bowels of the State, by their intrigues and cabals, so incessantly engrosses the time, and distracts the councils of Parliament, that it cannot pursue those means which the dictates of reason and common sense point out as necessary to the safety of the empire?

Whatever may have been the reasons that no adequate propositions, no terms which could lead to a more constitutional union between the two countries, have been settled in the British councils, and tendered to the Americans, it is certainly high time, after a four years military contest, that it should be done. True wisdom directs, that reformation should take place as soon as defects and mistakes are known. A procrastination of remedy ever gives to the evil intended to be removed, time to encrease, and often places it beyond the reach of the most perfect skill.

To conclude these reflections: When I take a view of the present state of Europe, nothing is wanting to convince me, that the welfare and existence of Great-Britain as an independent empire, depend on the recovery of her lost authority over the Colonies, and on a more perfect union with them.

When I consider the principles which ever did, and ever must bind the several parts of civil society together, I am also convinced, that the duration of that union must depend on the principles of polity by which the two countries shall be united, and that it will be longer or shorter as those principles accord or disagree with the

fundamental rights upon which the British Government is established.

And when I reflect on the present state of the Colonies, I am equally satisfied that this is the favourable moment for settling that union, and securing the subordination of the Colonies to the latest period of the British Government.

Impressed with these sentiments, I have been induced to lay the foregoing facts and reflections before the Public. I have briefly recited the causes of the present rebellion—the means by which it has grown to its present maturity—the state of American parties—the disposition of the Colonists; to which I have added some general remarks on the incompetency of the measures proposed for reconciling the unfortunate dispute between the two countries, and on the prospect of success which other measures, founded in the merits of the dispute, must be attended with. If, in doing this, I shall have contributed to throw any light on the subject, or to point out those measures which will unite the two countries together, my purpose will be attained.

A P P E N D I X.

EXTRACTS from the JOURNALS of the AMERICAN CONGRESS.

Saturday, July the 8th, 1775.

THE letter to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen,
and Livery of London, being again read
and debated, was agreed to as follows :

“ My Lord,

“ Permit the delegates of the people of Twelve
ancient Colonies to pay your Lordship, and the
very respectable body of which you are the
head, *the just tribute of gratitude and thanks for
the virtuous and unsolicited resentment you have
shewn to the violated rights of a free people.* The
city of London, my Lord, having in all ages
approved itself the patron of liberty, and the
support of just government against lawless ty-
ranny and oppression, *cannot fail to make us
deeply sensible of the powerful aid our cause must
receive from such advocates.* A cause, my Lord,
worthy of the support of the first city in the
world, as it involves the fate of a great continent,
and *threatens to shake the foundations of a flourish-
ing, and until lately a happy empire.*

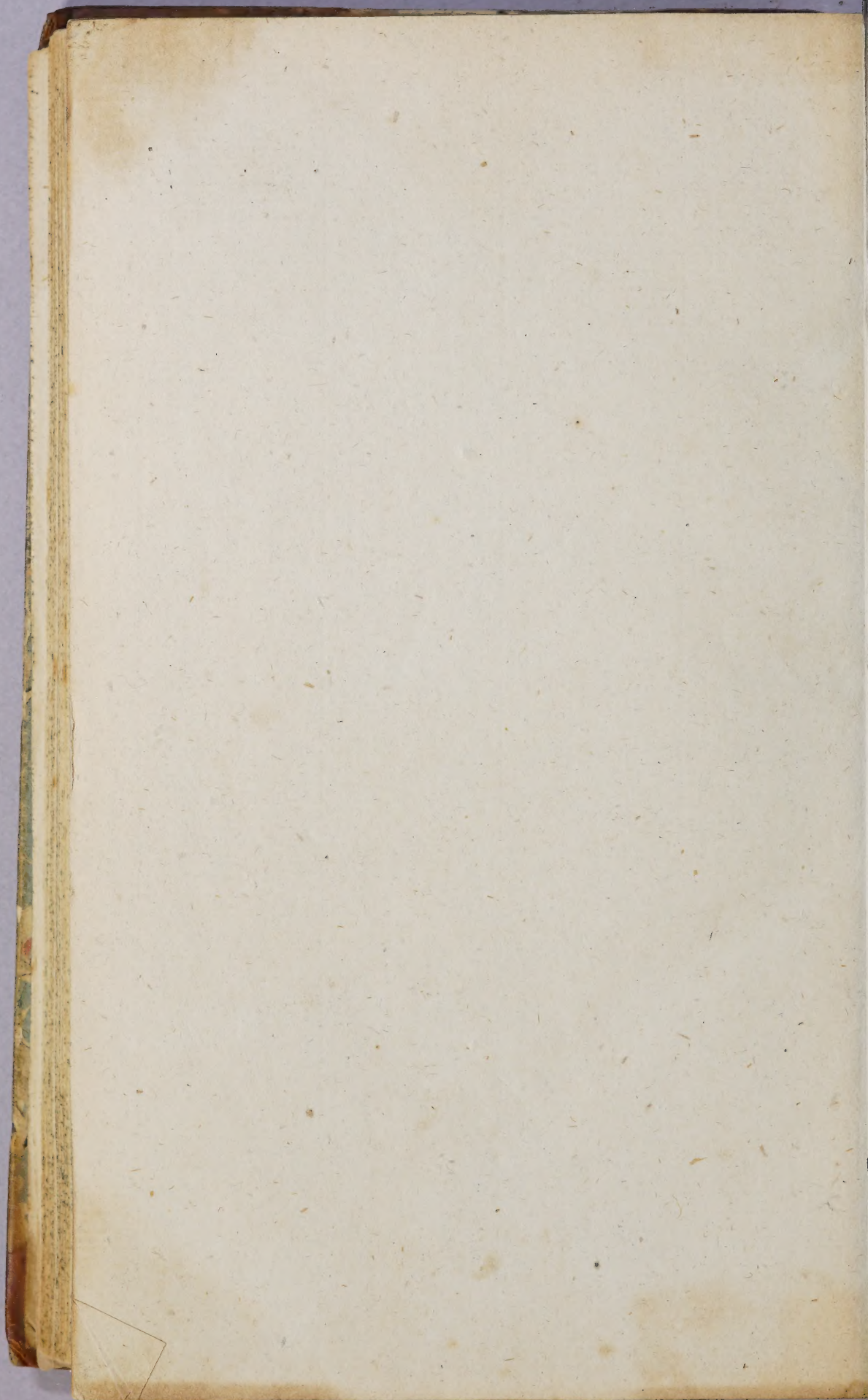
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